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THE PRINCIPLES
OF
MENTAL HYGIENE

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THE PRINCIPLES OF MENTAL HYGIENE

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
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PREFACE

For many years a small group of philanthropically minded persons have been fighting the battles of the failures in life and trying to secure for them an adequate understanding which should be the basis for creating a new, a more enlightened, and a constructive and helpful program for dealing with them. Despite the length of time this movement in its various ramifications has been in existence, and the number of people who have been engaged in it, and, too, the high type of many so engaged, there never has issued from its sponsors anything that could properly be called a comprehensive program, an adequate statement of principles scientifically founded and practically workable. The reason for this seems to me clear. These persons had no such program, they had no such principles, their moving force was faith.

Many, perhaps all, great movements, are thus shadowed forth in their origins by the faith that is in those who believe in them. It is these pioneers to whom all honour is due, who have had the courage to speak for what they believed was right, for what they had faith in, in the face of opposition and ridicule and even though when asked to state their case they found themselves quite incapable of put-

ting into words what they felt. They have stood firm, however, until principles could be formulated and programs projected. When that day arrived the battle was perhaps already won.

The battle for mental hygiene has already been won. The far seeing faith of its progenitors felt and knew that a way could always be found to solve any problem that needed to be solved, if only there was the patience to keep on, the determination to succeed. Mental hygiene has come to stay, there is not the shadow of a doubt about that, but its principles remain to be formulated because its activities have been scattered over so many fields which, while not really, still are practically, disconnected. There have been the problems of the care of the insane, prison reform, pauperism, alcoholism, feeble-mindedness, juvenile delinquency, atypical children, vagrancy, prostitution, vocational education, the neuroses and psychoneuroses, drug addiction, social hygiene (venereal prophylaxis), patent medicines and faith cures, and many others, all of which have been recognized by some as being problems that would have to be attacked more or less exclusively by methods founded in the principles of a hygiene of mind.

The various directions in which these problems have arisen has tended to a somewhat mutual exclusiveness so that each group was interested only in some particular aspect of the larger problem. The whole field has, therefore, not as yet been comprehensively surveyed. To do this in an at all ade-

quate manner would be a large undertaking, perhaps too large to be dealt with in a single volume. It will be my object in this book to sketch the outline, stressing the larger problems, and completing the statement by a briefer filling in of details. Such matters as the principles involved in the concepts of the great defective, delinquent, and dependent groups, the significance of the insane, the criminal, and the feeble-minded classes, of the principles of society's relation to them will receive the larger amount of attention, while such questions as divorce, the woman movement, etc., will come in for small mention, not because they are of less importance for perhaps they are not, but because it would seem that the great guiding principles can be seen plainer in these other problems for there we can see the springs of human conduct laid bare, less overlaid with the disguises of a conventional society. These questions will be discussed, however, not with the purpose of attempting to solve them but because they are present-day examples of bad mental hygiene, that is, they show in action those factors at work which interfere most seriously with an efficient handling of a situation—such as prejudice, hate, etc., and so come within the realm of mental hygiene indirectly, although their problems, as such, might hardly be conceived to belong there.

In accordance with this program the book will naturally fall into two parts. The first part, comprising the Introduction and Chapter I, will be theoretical, a laying down of fundamental, scientific

principles, and can well be omitted by the practical worker whose interests are not primarily scientific or philosophical. The second part will take up the larger issues, such as the insane, the criminal, etc., and progress to the less well defined and less distinctly pathological problems. The summary will attempt to bring all the issues, theoretical and practical together and will thus require a knowledge of both parts of the book.

INTRODUCTION

To have accomplished the task of a practical understanding of the changes which accompany the disorders of the bodily organs may be said to have been the crowning achievement of the medicine of the nineteenth century. It is now only a question of time when such knowledge shall be put into effective relationship with social activities and much of what we have hitherto been terming disease will gradually cease to have the power of compelling fear and dread. For disease will no longer be looked upon as a single manifestation, or a group of such manifestations, to be attacked as separate entities, with a futile lack of understanding of causes and of these same relationships. The whole effect of disease upon the social body, and its origins as expressions of an interrelationship with this, will be considered an indispensable feature of its understanding and effective handling.

It is a fundamental position taken in this book, and one which will undoubtedly come to be universally held before a final conquest of disease will have been accomplished, that disease after all is maladaptation of function of the entire body in all of its relations, and that no hard and fast line separates the functions of any organ of the body into physical and mental, nor limits the disease concept to exclude mal-

adaptation in the social any more than in the individual functioning of the entire organism. The term physical still lingers in our mental fabric, however, and threatens by a too great conservatism of habit to obstruct the larger point of view which this valuable work seeks to point out.

Mens sana in corpore sano,—a healthy mind in a healthy body—has been the watchword of past civilizations. It is time to modify this and to recognize that this is but one-half of a truth, which in order to be realized needs to be stated in a larger form which embraces this. *Corpus sanum in mente sana,*—a healthy body can only exist as its behaviour is influenced and controlled by a healthy mind. For it is becoming more and more evident that what we call mind is an organized principle in evolution with a structure just as real as any organ of the body, not a distinct static thing of material form and dimensions, but a no less distinctive working entity, a product of evolutionary growth and a grouping of functional activities, the chief distinguishing feature between mind structure and organ structure being the greater plasticity of the functional capacity of the former for the utilization of the stores of energy which surround us and force us into action.

One might say that when living matter in higher animals had more or less completely solved the problem of how to utilize the energy of the chemical substances which we roughly symbolize as sugars, for example, then this function, more or less completely learned, became structuralized into what we

call, let us say, the liver. Liver structure becomes thus more or less finished, this metabolism of sugar has been learned, for the most part the work of energy transformation goes on automatically, only hindered when other organs, functioning imperfectly, refuse, as it were, to let it perform its own task unmolested.

Now the mind structuralizations are still open, still formulating, for social adaptations have not been so completely individualized as chemical adaptations. Many have been structuralized for the time being in wise precepts, Golden Rules, in the Talmud, Rig Veda, laws of the Twelve Tables or the whole group of gradually shifting codes contained in the Bible. Such literary crystallizations, which represent great planes in the development of thought and language, as those of Shakespeare or Goethe, constitute likewise the slowly deposited and slowly changing forms and grades of this same structuralizing process, as do also international agreements, world customs, etc., etc. But so long as time is continually progressing, new possibilities for better and better adaptations are left open, which by reason of the plasticity of the mental structures, are continually taking place.

Thus ever higher attributes of social evolution are possible and since it is so, it is incumbent upon human society to discover and attain to them. The realization of them, according to the progressing measure of social capacity, means health. Failure to attain, or disorder in the social system which in-

terferes with such progressive functioning, expresses the various inadequacies and disabilities of society, its lack of perfect health and healthy activity. These are the various phenomena which are so ably discussed in this treatise. Whether physicians term them diseases of the spirit, or of the soul, or of the mind in its collective function, is immaterial. The important fact to recognize is that of their origins, for only by an understanding of how such things come to pass can they be alleviated and thus human happiness made more possible.

This work will materially further such a comprehension of the various grades of certain types of failure and their underlying causes, and thus prove a constructive agency for their diminution or removal. Thus we shall arrive at a true ideal formulation of a healthy society, which means also in the individual-society relationship, upon which this discussion is based, a healthy individual and therefore a healthy body. In such an ideal society it will be seen, for instance, that such a physical disease as typhoid fever cannot exist, for it must in reality be considered a disease due to an imperfect society. The persistence of typhoid fever in a community is a symbol, not alone of the ignorance of that society, but a sign of the inertness, of the cupidity and self-seeking of the majority, who consider their individual comforts and personal satisfactions ahead of those of their fellow men. They refuse, by their maintenance of corrupt, inadequate political machinery of well acknowledged incompetency, to put to work the

proper agencies to eliminate typhoid fever from the map. This is merely another way of saying that the individual in the large, in his social relationship, is still spiritually ill. His mental vision cannot yet take in the larger whole, which were he able or willing to see, would keep his body well, because his social, mental function, that is his soul, would have grown up and formed a structurally effective mental hygiene. Since moreover the practical purposes of a cultural civilization, built to express and fulfil man's greater needs, have indissolubly bound individual and the society, environment, to which he belongs, this limitation of a larger vision which means the individual illness makes society also ill and imperfect and deficient in its functioning. Thus while ignorance, timidity, incompetency denote the illness of the individual members of society, it is equally true that an ineffectual, incomplete, inadequate attitude towards social skeletons is symptomatic of the illness of society.

The new century of medicine may well be characterized as that of discovery and investigation of causes and interrelationships. The keen analysis which searches out individual causations and probes to the uttermost each separate phenomenon of form or function, must be followed by a comprehensive synthesis, in which interdependence of form and mutual modification of function are sought to be understood both in their causes and in their effects for individual and society. Both analysis and synthesis, in this their pragmatic significance, are gen-

etically considered, since cause and effect are to be understood as evidences of the energy which infuses life, as it is transmuted and transposed to create and to activate the lesser structuralizations of material organs and forms, or more progressively still, the higher structuralizations of mind, which are here discussed principally in their social forms, the highest expressions of psychological activity.

Thus it is that individual health and social health are interdependent. The sound body in the well-regulated mind, free and open in its conductivity of the informing energy, is both the proof of such a creative, active force, and its means of expression. Equally will a sound social body be created only out of such a free and unhindered social mind, the collective consciousness, whatever it may be called. The healthy body of the individual and the healthy activity of society depend therefore upon just such a penetrating knowledge of those elements of individual psychology and of its social forms as this book has brought to attention; and upon such a synthesis of these factors, which reveals their necessary interrelationships, the disharmony resulting when these are interfered with or overlooked and the harmony and progress when they are logically taken into account.

SMITH ELY JELLIFFE.

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THE PRINCIPLES OF MENTAL HYGIENE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Hygeia, the goddess of health, was very appropriately the daughter of Æsculapius, the god of medicine. It is fitting, both that she should have come after, and that she should have been related to the god of medicine. Hygiene, by carrying forward the principles learned in combatting disease, comes to embody the ideal of medical practice and its latest development, preventive medicine. If preventive medicine had a goddess it would probably be recorded that she was the daughter of Hygeia and that she was born about the middle of the nineteenth century.

The earliest manifestations, of what grew to become preventive medicine, were along the simpler developments of sanitation. They came into being in the cities probably largely as a result of the congestion of the population in these centres due to the growth of the factory as an industrial institution. The crowding of large numbers of poor labourers together in the big cities under unsanitary condi-

tions of employment, of housing, and of living generally came to be appreciated as a menace to the health of the city. Out of such situations grew the general principles of sanitation directed to the removal of obvious filth, principles of sewage disposal, water supply, etc. This development dealt only with the most obvious defects, its vision was very narrow, comprising only the immediate interests without any vision for the future or the wider possibilities, and requiring little more than police authority, and not expert knowledge and experience, to carry out.[1]

From these simple beginnings development proceeded rapidly along lines, not only calculated to remove the most serious immediate dangers to life and health, but, going along hand in hand with social reform movements, tended to a general improvement of the environment, such as well-paved streets, the creation of the great public utilities, and in general fostering those developments that made life decidedly more worth living.

The most definite advances along the combined lines of social reform and public sanitation grew up in connection with the great industrial renaissance incident to the supplementing and replacing of the methods of the old handicrafts by the use of machinery and the congregation of labour in large communities by the development of the factory system.

[1] For a short historical summary of the growth of sanitation, etc., see Havelock Ellis: "The Task of Social Hygiene." Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915.

This concentration of poorly paid and poorly housed factory hands led to conditions which obviously were unsanitary, and methods of sanitation were evolved to meet them and were enacted into statutes and adequate police authority provided for to enforce them.

The social developments which have grown out of the attempts to correct the evil influences of the modern industrial system are extremely interesting and instructive to follow in their development for they represent on a small scale the principles involved in the larger issues, some of which it will be the object of this book to discuss.

A tendency cropped out quite early in the history of the industrial revolution to see the problems from a somewhat wider angle and to realize that the end and aim of the reform movements and the objects of sanitation could not be solely the protection of one social group against the nuisances created by another. The interrelations and interdependencies of the two groups, that is, the labouring classes on the one hand and the rest of the people on the other, were early appreciated by a few advanced thinkers and indeed we find practical expression of this recognition on a large scale in the beginning of the nineteenth century in the initiation, near Glasgow, by Robert Owen, of what has come to be known as factory welfare work.[2] He built up a model village, improved the housing facilities, pro-

[2] See "Principles of Industrial Organization," by Dexter S. Kimball. The McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1913.

vided means for recreation, schools, library, devised special purchasing methods to the advantage of the workman, undertook the elimination of drunkenness and reduced the hours of labour from thirteen and fourteen, or even sixteen in some instances, to ten.

From these early beginnings the movement has continued which has as its object to surround the worker with better conditions both in his work and in his living, which is based first upon a feeling of duty, and thus has come to be understood as desirable and which has finally been demanded by the worker himself as a right.

Legislation and practice have developed from the crude beginnings based on a desire to be rid of obviously unsanitary and disorderly conditions, because of their manifest dangers, to the provision of wholesome working and living conditions, including reasonable hours of work and adequate compensation, to still further and more extensive provision for the welfare of the worker by giving opportunities to acquire an industrial education which will fit him for the better skilled positions. The future is still further provided for by vocational training in the public schools, by workmen's liability and insurance acts, and old age pensions. In another direction similar ends are sought by providing adequate relief from work, with full pay, of women just before and after confinement and legislation controlling their hours of duty and limiting, prohibiting, or prescribing the conditions of child labour.

Along with all of these developments have grown up a body of laws which have invaded more and more the region that used to be thought of as belonging absolutely to the individual, and which have sought to regulate his conduct in divers ways supposedly calculated for his own welfare and for the welfare of the group. For example: He must see that his children go to school for a certain minimum period: he must pay taxes for the support of public schools, even though he send his own children to private ones: he is prohibited from using alcoholic liquors except under certain prescribed conditions, or he may in fact be prohibited from using them altogether: if he wishes to build a house or a factory there are the building regulations to be complied with: if it is a factory that he has built and is operating then he may not permit dense black smoke to issue from its stacks beyond certain limits of time and frequency: if he is an employer he must make certain prescribed sanitary and hygienic provisions for his employés, while under certain conditions he is held responsible if they acquire disease or are injured while working for him. In these, and in many other ways, the State reaches into the private affairs of its citizens and seeks to regulate them for the common good.

The more definitely public health developments have been of like character. Disease has been sought out with ever increasing accuracy and success, a large number are reportable under penalty, quarantine regulations have been perfected and

made enforceable by police authority, while such preventive measures as vaccination are made compulsory and many others are provided, often for the asking. The welfare of the individual and the community have both received consideration, while in such measures as the sanitary rehabilitation of a community following an epidemic, such as typhoid, we see some of the best of public health efforts calculated to afford protection, not only now but to carry the protection forward indefinitely.

Such are some of the activities directed first to affording protection from an obvious, a present and an acute danger and developing finally into measures, the effects of which will only accrue in succeeding generations, but which are calculated to make for better health, greater efficiency, and greater safety from disease and injury. In other words, they are methods which are directed, almost exclusively, to improving living conditions, that is, the environment.

That improvements in living, that greater comforts, more happiness could be attained solely by an approach to the problems from *without* has always seemed the natural way of looking at the situation. That the problem should be approached from *within* has never seemed to challenge the attention, of course with certain notable, mostly individual exceptions.

The reason for this failure to look within is rather difficult to assign. It seems quite evident that if satisfactory living is an expression of the relation

individual-environment, then not only the environment but the individual must be looked to for results. True, the individual has been looked to but only as constituting part of the environment. A person sick with a contagious disease is so much dangerous environment so far as the rest of the community is concerned. Only in this way, as environment, has the individual been at all adequately dealt with.

To approach the problem from within means something very different from this. This is essentially a matter of mind, of psychology, and means that the individual must regard himself in the relation indivdual-environment, and seek to determine what are the elements of that relation which are under his control, what he is giving to the situation, how he can change himself so as to change the relation to his advantage.

That this movement to develop a mental hygiene has arisen only after all other kinds of hygiene have been advanced to a pretty high grade of efficiency is due to many causes. In the first place it is perhaps to no small extent the usual result of the tendency to overlook the obvious. The one particular thing that we are least apt to regard as at fault when we get into trouble is ourselves, that is, our moral, personal selves, not so much our bodily selves, this for reasons which will come up for more careful examination later. We may rest here with the assumption that it is an instance of failure to see the obvious, to overlook the thing nearest at hand.

Perhaps the most important reason, however, is dependent upon the really enormous complexity of the problems. The tremendous complexity of the human organism, which has baffled man's reason for so many generations, is only beginning to be sufficiently fathomed so that a comprehensive grasp of the entire problem is coming to be within the bounds of possibility, and it is only when such a comprehensive grasp is possible that the phenomena of mind fall into place for consideration at all, for they deal with the organism as a whole and therefore it is only after its separate parts in their interrelations and interdependencies have been understood that the problem of the whole can be approached.

As soon as we come to an appreciation of this way of looking at man we come also to see that there is a psychological aspect to many a situation that we had before looked at exclusively from some other angle. This whole matter will be more fully discussed later but, in order to illustrate this thesis I will undertake to defend it briefly in a simple case.

Why, for example, does a person who is suffering the pain and inconvenience of a sore finger consult a physician? It will be said that it is because his finger is sore. I say no, that is not the reason. It is because he is mentally ill at ease. The reason is a mental one and not a physical one. But, it will be said, the man has pain in his finger and that is a physical fact and the reason he consults his physician. Again I say no, that is not so. The pain

does not reside in the finger: pain is not a physical but a mental fact. While the pain is directly due to the physical condition of the finger, the pain itself is purely a mental experience. If the man had no mind he could have no pain. And so again I contend that the reason the man consults his physician is that he is mentally ill at ease. What does the physician do for him? The usual answer will be that he cures the physical ailment. That is true. But in doing so he is only employing that means to the end of putting the patient's mind at rest. After the patient's mind is satisfied then he is well: he no longer suffers pain: he no longer suffers from the knowledge that there is a disagreeable looking place on his body, and he is at peace—because, it is true, the physical cause of his suffering has been removed. It will be said that this result is accomplished by dealing with the finger. I admit that by doing certain things to the finger these results were produced, but I insist that the ultimate results produced, so far as the comfort and well-being of the patient are concerned, are mental results and that the changes that were wrought in the finger are only to the end of bringing about such a mental condition.

This illustration serves to indicate how much more pervasive are the phenomena of mind in our daily living than we are wont to suppose, and also how completely the obvious may be overlooked. A convulsion of nature, a volcanic eruption or an earthquake, a display of the northern lights, an

eclipse, or the return of a comet, are unusual and so attract attention and are observed with some care. The operation of our own minds with which, not only these unusual events but all the events of every day are perceived, just because it is, so to speak, an ingredient of every relation is the least uncommon element of all and because of that fact escapes observation and examination the longest and the most successfully.

This book, then, will proceed to an examination of the obvious, in the sense explained, psychological elements as they may be found in association with and related to the various problems which, as I see them, belong in the realm of mental hygiene.

CHAPTER II

UNDERLYING CONCEPTS

Before we can proceed with the program laid down in the Introduction it will be well to undertake to come to a somewhat more definite understanding of just what is meant by mind, by psychological, and too, by social. In order to do this it will be necessary to retrace briefly the pathway along which biological phenomena have finally found a culmination in man. Briefly and dogmatically sketched the important points for our present purposes are these:

The simplest type of reaction of living beings is *physical* and needs hardly to be more than mentioned as testifying their relationship to inorganic nature. Such reactions have little importance for the present problem. Examples are the sweeping of living beings along rapidly flowing streams and ocean currents, the blowing of seeds and insects and even birds to great distances by the winds, the changes in shape and form as conditioned by the environment (the science of morphology), and the more simple physical determiners in growth, the development of organs, the circulation of body fluids, etc.

Very early, probably from the first, we will find associated with life certain chemical changes. These changes are characteristically and fundamentally the

changes incident to digestion and metabolism and as they are intimately bound up with certain physical reactions such as osmotic tension, hydrodynamics (circulation), we may speak of this group of reactions as *physico-chemical.*

Quite early in the history of evolution pathways were laid down which enabled a reaction to take place at one part of the body as a result of a stimulus at another part. These are the nervous pathways and were made necessary by the growing size and complexity of animal life and the necessity for a more accurate interrelation between its several parts. Because these reactions are the expression of an association between a stimulus (sensation) and a motor response (motion) reactions of this character are known as *sensori-motor.* The simplest and earliest form of reaction in this category had as object the more accurate relating of the vital organs, more particularly those engaged in digestion and circulation, and this early nervous system probably corresponded roughly to what we know as the vegetative nervous system in man. It is only relatively late in animal evolution that we find what we know as a central nervous system (brain and spinal cord), in fact not until we get to the vertebrates, and only at this level of development that we get that exquisite development of the sense organs which serves wonderfully to relate man to his environment.

Only after all of this preparation do we find that there has developed anything to which we may give the name of psyche and to the reactions which issue

the name *psychological,* while finally, by the association of individuals at the psychological level of development there issues a still more complex type of reaction, the *social.*

With this evolutional scheme in mind we may consider, for descriptive purposes only, the various types of reaction as we see them exhibited in man. The physical reactions are such as are involved in the maintenance of the erect posture, the relation of the various curves in the spinal column, the adaptation of the joint surfaces to one another and numerous other reactions of a similar nature: the chemical and physico-chemical reactions still deal largely with questions of growth, nutrition, and metabolism. The sensori-motor reactions, mediated by the central nervous system, occupy a still higher plane and serve for bringing about larger co-ordinations between the various parts of the body; while the psychological and social types of reaction are hardly even approached by any of the lower animals.

If we will take the broadest concept of the relation of the individual to his environment and of the functions of these various levels, if I may so call them, we will see at once that the individual is always endeavouring to bring about an adjustment between himself and his surroundings, and that in order to do this he is always in a position where it is advantageous to be able to concentrate all efforts in a given direction and make everything subservient to that particular end. The first function is that of *adjustment.* The second function is that of *in-*

tegration, and at each level we find the functions of the organism serving both of these ends. As we proceed from the physical through the various nervous levels to the psychological level we find that each series of functions, as they increase in complexity, also serve more thoroughly and more efficiently to integrate the individual and therefore make it possible for him to bring all of his energies together and concentrate them upon a specific goal. At the same time this function of integration is the very necessary pre-condition to efficiency of adjustment to the environment.

If I were to illustrate the type of instrument which man uses at the various levels to bring about these two ends, namely, adjustment and integration, I should name first, at the physical level, the *lever.* This is exemplified by the type of action between muscles and bones which serves the purpose of integrating man's framework so that he may direct his exertions toward any particular end he wishes and thereby effect to that extent an adjustment with his surroundings. At the next level, the physico-chemical, the *hormone*[1] is the type of instrument which is used to effect these two purposes. The chemical regulation of metabolism is a means whereby the body is related to itself in its different

[1] The active principle of certain glands, the so-called ductless glands, such as the thyroid, the adrenal, the pituitary, etc. The word means a messenger and is so used because it serves to bring out reactions at a distance. It so works like a nervous system, but is a simpler and more primitive way, serving at a time before the laying down of definite and permanent nervous pathways.

parts so that it grows and develops as a whole, each portion receiving and utilizing only its proper amount and character of nutriment to serve the specific purpose of the development of that part in so far as it may be useful to the whole organism. Integration is thus served, the organism as a whole is raised by this integration to a higher level of efficiency and thereby adjustment with the environment to a greater nicety is rendered possible. This hormone regulation which is effected through the medium of the endocrine (ductless) glands is already, in higher animals, very largely under the control of the vegetative nervous system. So even at this level we are dealing with nervous control. At the next level, the level of the central nervous system, the *reflex* is the type of instrument which is used. The reflex is brought into action by contact between the individual and the environment. It may be simple, it may be compound, it may be conditioned [2] or unconditioned, but it is by building up

[2] The term conditioned reflex was used to describe certain phenomena, resulting from his experiments, by the Russian physiologist Pawlow. In his experiments on the salivary secretion in dogs he found that it was normally brought about by the sight and smell of food. If now, for example, he always rang a bell in conjunction with showing the food he found that after a while, after the association food-bell had time to become firmly formed, if he merely rang the bell even though he did not show the food at all the saliva was nevertheless secreted. The salivary reflex was thus conditioned by the sound stimulus of the bell. Experiment showed that there was apparently no limit to the possibility of conditioning reflexes in this way. It will be seen how important is this concept for the understandng of how complex systems of reflexes can be built up.

series of intricately interrelated reflexes that the organism comes to respond accurately to certain aspects of its environment. It is needless to illustrate further how this process of compounding of reflexes serves both the purposes of integration and of adjustment. Still higher and further advanced in the course of evolution the type of instrument which is brought into play to effect these two purposes is the *idea.*[3] The idea not only integrates by keeping before the individual the goal which he is endeavouring to reach and thereby serving to bring all his forces to bear to that specific end, but it also reflects the environment much more accurately than can the stimulus which brings about the reflex and thereby leads to a much finer adjustment. And last of all we have arrived at that region which Spencer called the region of supra-organic evolution, the region of social psychology in which conduct gets its values from the approval or disapproval of the community—the herd—of which the individual forms a part. The type of instrument which is used at this level to effect the double purpose of integration and adjustment is the *social custom.* Customs serve to integrate society rather than the individual perhaps by binding all its units together to a common end, but in so doing they serve also to effect a more efficient adjustment of the individual to the requirements of the community.

[3] For a discussion of the idea as symbol and as such as a transformer of energy see the author's "Mechanisms of Character Formation, An Introduction to Psychoanalysis." The Macmillan Company, New York, 1916.

It will thus be seen that in the process of evolution there is an orderly progression from the lowest to the highest types of reaction until they culminate in the reactions, as I have put it, at the psychological level and then reactions at this level finally take on social values.

This brief summary which I have given of the evolution of the various types of reaction, shows a constant interplay between the individual and his environment which precludes the possibility of considering the individual as apart from the environment. This impossibility is especially to be borne in mind when the individual is considered as a social unit and his reactions are considered from the standpoint of the social level.

From this point of view, therefore, we see *conduct* as an end result of the whole system of mechanisms and the compromises which have been struck in the progressive evolution of integration and adjustment. The psychological level is only reached at that stage in evolution when integration has reached a point of development so that action which results is action of the individual as a whole. In fact, psychology is just that discipline which deals with reactions which involve the individual as a whole. The investigation of the digestive properties of the pancreatic juice is a physiological study at the physicochemical level, the investigation of the patella tendon reflex (knee jerk) is a study of function (physiology) at the sensori-motor level, an investigation of the reasons a man took a train and went to Boston is

a psychological study. Conduct, therefore, is made possible by these final integrations which combine, unify, and centralize all lower integrations and psychology is the science which deals with reactions at this level.

Throughout the discussion thus far I have used the terms individual and environment as if they were mutually exclusive. This is not so. The concept individual, as implying a clear cut distinction from the environment has had a distinct history, an evolution and a consideration of the facts will show that this implied distinction is largely artificial.[4]

A study of the development of the child psyche will show that the child must go through a long and tedious process in learning the distinction between himself and things about him, in building up the concepts of the "I" and the "not-I." We see the confusion in the child's mind well illustrated if we will watch the details of the play with dolls and note the uniformity with which the various objects about it are personified. This same stage is well seen, and has been extensively studied, in primitive man —the stage of animism—while the elaborately built up distinction is broken down in mental disease with its delusions and hallucinations, the latter especially coming often from inanimate objects or lower animals and thus reviving the animistic level of culture.

[4] See the author's "Individuality and Introversion," *The Psychoanalytic Review*, January, 1917.

On the more physical side of the relation we would find, if we tried to make the distinction clean cut, that we would have the greatest difficulty as soon as we left the plane of the grosser and more obvious distinctions. At what point food introduced into the gastro-intestinal tract or oxygen inspired into the pulmonary vesicles ceases to become a bit of the environment and becomes part of the individual would be seen to be quite unanswerable.

At the social level the indeterminateness is still more in evidence. The influence of a person radiates about him in ever widening circles if perhaps he is a public man, a speaker or writer, and may even outlast the span of his physical existence for generations.

And finally the germ plasm, again material, hands on qualities to the indefinable future.

The individual and the environment are not mutually exclusive, they exist rather as a relation but in that relation their values are not constant. They are the two elements of a relation which is dynamic, which implies, therefore, a constant interplay of forces, and so their relative values are in a constant state of flux.

This indistinctness of the outlines of the individual becomes of great practical importance when we come to deal with the social level of reactions. Just as we have seen that the individual-environment relation was a relation of two independent variables in which the relative values were in a con-

stant flux, so the same state of affairs pertains to the relation individual-society. Many writers see in social psychology only the sum of the individual psychologies of the constituent units. I think this, however, a grave mistake. The relation which the individual bears to other individuals and to the group as a whole is the new element which is introduced and forms a part of man's make-up when considered as a social animal. As well say that any animal or plant can be fully understood by understanding the individual cells of which it is composed. Such a viewpoint would fail completely to take into consideration the specialization of structure and function and the integration of their several organs and functions which are functions of this relation rather than of the cells themselves. The relation as such is as much a reality as the cell and it is just as true as between individual man and society as it is between the individual cell and the body. This is an important viewpoint because it sees society as an integration, still higher than the psychological level, in which the individuals are grouped according to race, religion, profession, trade, degree of education and in a thousand and one other ways, much as the cells of the body are grouped into organs, and in which all these groups are integrated to the common end of the larger social group—the herd—as are the cells to the common, larger end of the body.

One other aspect of this matter of integration which is of importance. Each cell, each organ, each

individual has the function first of preserving itself, of continuing to live, broadly, the problem of nutrition. But in addition to its self-preservative activities it must give something to the group. This is the basis of that relationship that makes integration possible. The carapace of the beetle must maintain its own integrity but it protects the delicate vital parts of the animal which it encloses; the liver has to maintain itself as liver, but it stores up glycogen—muscle food—to be called upon in an emergency and so supplies its quota to the preparedness of the body as a whole against danger; the individual man must obtain food and shelter for himself, but in addition he must pay his taxes and so contribute to the needs of the herd.

All this is preliminary but necessary to the understanding of the place that the psychological type of reaction occupies in the general scheme of the individual's development, and it is also necessary to the understanding of how, by a process of evolution, the type of reaction which the individual manifests gets its values reflected from the herd. Conduct is the basis upon which the community judges the individual. The individual may think as he pleases and the community has no interest in his thoughts, but he must act along fairly well defined lines if he expects to be left undisturbed. Conduct, therefore, has a social value and its social value is based upon its worth to the community. Every individual owes certain duties to the community in which he lives in return for the immense benefits

that that community bestows upon him. Practically all of the things for which we consider life worth living are made possible by the social organization, and in return for all these gifts from society the individual has a duty towards that society. It is upon the basis of the efficiency with which he discharges this duty that society passes judgment upon his conduct and deals with those departures from certain standards which it sees fit to maintain.

From this standpoint we see the individual evaluated on the basis of his usefulness to the community as expressed in his conduct. Conduct, as we have seen, is psychological and so it is proper to inquire whether all forms of social inefficiency may not be viewed, and properly so, from the standpoint of mental deficiency. The so-called insane and the various grades of the feeble-minded are already viewed in this way, while there is pretty general agreement that approximately fifty per cent of criminals and an equal percentage of prostitutes easily fall within such a grouping. To my mind it will be useful to look at all the socially inefficient classes in this way. If we can do this without being hampered by such old-time and misleading concepts as "insanity" and "criminality" (as if insanity and criminality were tangible entities that took up their residence within certain individuals), if we can look upon socially inefficient types of reaction in the broad way in which I have indicated, rather than from the narrow viewpoint of certifiability and con-

viction, we shall commence to understand and to deal effectively with the socially inadequate.

If we take this viewpoint for the moment and look at this fifty per cent. of asocial individuals and realize that they cannot live in the community as useful citizens but have to be shut up in some form of institution, and then place this fact by the side of our scheme of evolution of reactions, we see instantly that these individuals fail at the social level. It is not necessary to find in such persons plain evidences of mental defect which show themselves at what I have called the purely psychological level. Many such individuals are well behaved, well conducted, and, relatively at least, efficient persons within the milieu of an institution. Subjected to the increased complexities with the resulting stresses of social life, however, they show immediately their inability to make adequate adjustment. They fail at the social level of adjustment, and to say that this failure is not psychological is to lack in appreciation of what psychological means.

To illustrate let me cite extreme examples. Let us take the cases of a pauper and a criminal. Each fails to make a satisfactory social adjustment. The main difference between the two types of failure is difference in the particular way in which the failure has come about. In one instance (the criminal) there has been a positive offence against the standards of the herd, and in the other (the pauper) there has not. The intellectual level, or the depth

of defect from which the individual suffers, may be the same in both instances. Let us, however, take as an example the individual who has gone to the poorhouse because he can no longer earn his living; perhaps he has lost an arm or a leg, or his vision, or some other organ or function upon which he has been accustomed very largely to depend. One would naturally say that such a case certainly showed no psychological evidences of deficiency—that the difficulty was entirely physical. I do not think that is a fair way to judge the situation.

I have in mind Miss Helen Keller, who in her earliest infancy was stricken absolutely blind and totally deaf. This young woman to-day is not only a highly respected and much loved member of the community, but she is highly efficient. She writes beautifully, she takes the lecture platform effectively, and she has trained her other senses, to take the place of those which were lost, in a manner which is nothing short of marvelous. She gets from life all of the wonder that a highly cultured and highly educated individual can with his senses intact, and vastly more than the average normal individual. Now when we see a person (perhaps he is a blacksmith, it matters not) go to the poorhouse because he has lost an arm, the only reasonable explanation that we can give for such conduct is that his inefficiency is psychological. We may express it in such common phrases as "he has lost his nerve," or "he is unequal to making a readjustment," "he is too old to begin over again," or in a

thousand other ways, but reduced to their greatest common divisor, to resort to a mathematical figure, the common element in all of these formulæ is the element of mental inefficiency.

It is only when we begin to see the true meanings of the failures in life as they surround us that we are able to approach the problem of mental deficiency in a practical way through the natural avenues. The main emphasis of the argument should be upon the fact that socially efficient conduct is an end-result, depending, not alone upon psychological integrity, but back of that upon integrity at all the various reaction levels as I have described them. Each level is dependent upon the one beneath—its historical antecedent. Conduct is the end-result of the whole complex of mechanisms and the resulting compromises and its efficiency is a function of their integrity.

In the preface to our recent work on the Diseases of the Nervous System,[5] Dr. Jelliffe and I have said: "Man is not only a metabolic apparatus, accurately adjusted to a marvelous efficiency through the intricacies of the vegetative neurological mechanisms, nor do his sensori-motor functions make him solely a feeling, moving animal, seeking pleasure and avoiding pain, conquering time and space by the enhancement of his sensory possibilities and the magnification of his motor powers; nor yet is he

[5] Jelliffe and White: "Diseases of the Nervous System. A Text-Book of Neurology and Psychiatry." Published by Lea & Febiger, Philadelphia and New York, 2nd Ed., 1917.

exclusively a psychical machine, which by means of a masterly symbolic handling of the vast horde of realities about him has given him almost unlimited powers. He is all three, and a neurology of to-day that fails to interpret nervous disturbances in terms of all three of these levels, takes too narrow a view of the function of that master spirit of evolution, the nervous system."

And now finally, and this is very important. Conduct at the psychological level does not by any means necessarily imply conduct that is motivated and carried out with clear conscious knowledge. The evolution of the different levels of integration has been a long one, extending back through the ages, and has finally reached its culmination via the route which passes through the lower animals. Mankind, therefore, shares many of its tendencies with them. The social tendency itself—gregariousness—is shared with a large number of animals, the buffalo, deer and horse, with birds and even with insects, ants, bees, and wasps. Conduct based upon such a tendency, therefore, has become so well ingrained in the individual that it is, as we say, automatic, and while the individual may know what he is doing the underlying motive is buried deep beyond his powers of insight, in his history. Such conduct while it is psychological in the sense in which I have used it, that is, involves the final integrations and so the individual, as a whole, is motivated by causes which lie far outside the realm of his knowledge of himself. This is the conduct to

which the term *instinctive* is applied and while it is strictly at the psychological level there is little or no conscious motivation. Psychological reactions, therefore, do not necessarily imply consciousness, in the sense in which we ordinarily use that term, a fact which is of great importance in understanding many reactions, particularly abnormal and pathological types. Such conduct has its origin in the psyche but not in consciousness—the motives lie in the *unconscious*.[6]

Depending upon their history, therefore, we may have acts of conduct by deeply unconscious motives or by clearly conscious motives and by motives which occupy any point in the interval, possess any degree of consciousness.

The practical importance of this proposition is great. The great majority of things we do are done instinctively, with little or no thought, from motives which come from the great region of the unconscious. In fact, far from consciously knowing our motives we do not even know they exist, we never even think of inquiring into them. Why do we drink when we are thirsty? Why do we laugh when something pleases us? Who, but a philosopher or scientist, ever thinks to even ask such questions?

Conduct based upon such instinctive reactions is very common and of great importance in understanding human behaviour in general, and also of

[6] For a discussion of the unconscious see "Mechanisms of Character Formation."

great significance for mental hygiene. Trotter[7] devotes some space to a description of conduct of this instinctive, irrational sort. When an opinion is entertained with a feeling that it would be absurd, obviously unnecessary, unprofitable, undesirable, bad form, or wicked to inquire into it, then we know that the opinion in question is held instinctively and not as the result of individual experience. It is held because of its obviousness, which is another way of saying because it is dictated by the herd, that is, by the group of which the individual holding it forms a part. Opinions which are held as the result of experience do not offer such resistances to being inquired into. There is no such resistance to inquiry into the phenomena of physics and chemistry, the problems of mathematics, the proving of a geometrical theorem, but about matters of religion, morals and politics it is largely in evidence. In fact most of our opinions have been built up by the herd and we reflect them after this instinctive fashion. All of which goes to show that much too much credit is given to reason for the running of this machine of ours while as a matter of fact what we do is the expression of our whole, vast past concentrated upon the problem of the present.

The relative unimportance, for our everyday conduct, of clear consciousness and reason should not surprise us if we bear in mind just the barest outlines of man's history on earth. From the earliest

[7] W. Trotter: "Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War." London, 1916.

appearance of man upon the earth as calculated from a study of his remains, that is from the appearance of Pithecanthropus or the Trinil race, it is estimated that a period of five hundred thousand years has elapsed, a period almost one hundred times greater than the total extent of historic times.[8] From a consideration of this fact, a study of the anatomical remains, and a consideration of the facts of psychology as revealed in history and the study of contemporary peoples the conclusion is apparent that the similarities between any two persons, no matter how far removed they may be from one another according to the existing social standards, are not simply more numerous than their dissimilarities but that there is literally no comparison. The similarities are vastly greater than the differences, which latter can only maintain in regard to the very last, relatively speaking almost microscopically thin layer which has been added in recent times. If we consider only the anatomical and the physiological similarities we will be prepared to acknowledge this at once. The differences at these levels are not only inconsiderable but for the most part unimportant. A study of the psychological level will show the same thing. The great majority and the overwhelmingly more powerful motives for conduct come from the great region of the unconscious where this vast region of man's past is stored.

[8] Osborn, H. F.: "Men of the Old Stone Age, Their Environment, Life and Art." Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1916.

Because of the preponderance of similarities between ourselves and others we must be prepared to see ourselves in those others, to look in the phenomena we are studying for reflections of ourselves. In orienting himself towards personal and social problems man has ever been too prone to forget that he was one element in the relation. He has too often failed to see that *what* he perceived was dependent upon *how* he perceived it. This we shall find to be of the utmost practical importance if we are to clarify our vision for useful ends.

Mental hygiene is therefore the last word in preventive medicine. The asylum, the prison, the poorhouse are where we find the results of failure. Such types of failure as are represented in these institutions will, of course, always be with us, but the work of mental hygiene is not primarily with them except in so far as they are salvable. Mental hygiene is primarily addressed to preventing such failures whenever possible.

For a great many mental disorders, especially the various types of "nervousness" and the so-called "functional" conditions—the benign as opposed to the more serious types founded upon marked defect—for such conditions especially among adults, the public hospital for mental diseases, the psychopathic clinic, and the public dispensary, are the natural avenues through which to extend help. It will take some little time, however, and some effort before the mass of people know that such agencies exist or are available and also some little time and

effort before there are enough of such agencies or those that do exist are prepared to meet such demands.

For the more serious conditions, particularly for the frankly defective states, the schools are the places in which to work. Here the individual is found at an early age when remedial agencies will be effective if ever, and if not then steps can be taken to spare society an enormous amount of waste energy in trying to make a useful citizen out of material that can never arrive.

In this connection there must be considered the whole problem of education. The study of the atypical and subnormal child has brought into relief certain vital problems in our educational scheme. Many modifications are already working throughout this scheme, and it is ever coming nearer and nearer the ideal of fitting the educational treatment to the individual rather than expecting all individuals to fit the same educational mould. We would not think of prescribing mountain climbing to a person with a broken cardiac compensation; we should be as careful in our educational prescriptions. Here comes also the problem of vocational training, a still more specific attempt to make educational means serve living ends.

Going deeper still, all problems of factory sanitation, of the employment of women and children, of employers' liability acts, working men's insurance organizations, dangerous occupations, compulsory education and innumerable others, all take on a

new aspect when viewed in the light of the ultimate goal, the end product of individual development, socially efficient conduct. Viewed in this light they are all problems of mental efficiency and so, from this angle, belong to the field of mental hygiene. This is true, too, of eugenics which is a worse than useless effort unless it rests upon the broadest of foundations.

And so the mental hygiene movement is a movement calculated to push the whole problem of the consideration of the sick individual to a little higher plane. It has been the custom to treat the child with Pott's disease so as to bring about an arrest of the tubercular process and subsequent cure of the disease. The problem now becomes one of helping the individual to get the maximum of good from life in individual expansion and by social usefulness. This aspect is being met now by the nurse who goes to the house of the patient and helps regulate his way of living after he leaves the hospital. We will probably see further developments along this line.

From this higher plane of observation the criminal law that punishes is unintelligent. Disorders of conduct need constructive handling. To destroy the individual either by capital punishment or by the slower process of constant repression is a low level means of meeting the situation.

The mental hygiene movement has as one of its functions the encouragement of all those lines of inquiry and research that lead to a better knowledge of the human animal, particularly his conduct reac-

tions. It is the task of mental hygiene to find less wasteful, more efficient means for dealing with the problems that arise at this level, and, when found, to urge such measures unceasingly upon those who make and administer our laws and direct the trends of public thought.

CHAPTER III

MENTAL MECHANISMS

In order that we may approach the various problems that present themselves for the application of the principles of mental hygiene—in order that we may discuss these problems without the necessity of repeating these general principles each time—in order, therefore, that we may discuss to the best advantage practical issues which involve problems at the psychological level, I shall discuss in this chapter those features of psychological integration and adjustment which are pertinent to these various issues. In other words, I shall discuss in this chapter those fundamental mental mechanisms, an understanding of which is necessary in order to intelligently approach the various practical applications of the principles of mental hygiene.

THE UNCONSCIOUS

First of all, the great fact, it seems to me, which has always to be borne in mind, is the fact that our psyche bears the record of its hundreds of thousands of years' development within itself as truly as does our body. This is perhaps one of the hardest, one of the most difficult facts, for those who have not been thinking along these lines, to appreciate, be-

cause, of course, this record is not present in consciousness and, therefore, remains unknown to us unless exposed by a special technique. The mind seems to most of us to be a something mysterious, if we think enough about it to even get to such a conclusion, which lives only in the present, which deals only with the problem now before it. If we think a little, however, we realize that we spend many years in getting what we call an education to enable us to do this thing and that in some way or other, the things that we learn during this educational period are preserved and can be made available later on in dealing with our special problems. But to realize that not only are the facts of education which we learned twenty, thirty, forty years ago available to-day, but that the record of hundreds of thousands of years is summed up in this mind of ours, is much more difficult to grasp.

Each one of us carry innumerable traces in our bodily structure of the path of development along which we have come. Each of us, for example, have the remnants of gill slits, which testify our relationship in the past to fishes, and each of us, unlovely as the fact may be, has the remnants of a tail, which testifies to our more recent simian ancestors. Is it after all so strange that when we come to analyze the structure of the mind that we should find there also just as definite evidences of a remote past as we find in the body?

This is the historical past of the psyche, the unconscious, it has been called, because its content

while a part of the psyche is still not in consciousness.

We have first to realize that all progress is effected by overcoming resistance. The next thing to realize is that this resistance, when it becomes psychological, is located in this vast historical past of the psyche, which we call the unconscious. Let me illustrate what I mean by this: Man is a gregarious animal. He does not and cannot live alone, and as in the process of development the group with which he allied himself has grown from a simple band of wanderers, hunting and fishing for their food and confined to relatively warm climates, because they did not know enough to make clothes to protect them from the cold, as this band has gradually evolved and enlarged until it has become what we call to-day a nation, the individual members have had gradually to readjust to ever increasingly complex conditions. This readjustment has meant that they have had to progressively abandon immediate personal aims for more remote ones, to give up insistent selfish desires because they were opposed to the welfare of the group. As society becomes more complex it becomes increasingly impossible for any individual to follow his own selfish instincts to the exclusion of others. His path crosses the interests of others more and more frequently so that constant readjustment has produced an ever increasing necessity for putting aside immediate personal satisfactions because they conflicted with the interests of others. These readjustments have been necessary

in order that society should continue to expand and in order that man might reap, in return for his sacrifices, the benefits that come from such expansion. I need not define what these benefits are further than to say that they result in a constant specialization on the part of the different members of the social group which bring to the individuals of the group results far superior to those which could be otherwise attained.

Now as man goes forward and is successful, constantly readjusting to greater demands, the adjustments which he leaves behind, which he abandons in his progress, go to build up this great region of his unconscious, and as will be seen this region constitutes by far the greater part of the psyche. Every readjustment that is made, therefore, has to reckon with this past, has so to speak, to overcome it, and herein lies the conflict about which so much has recently been written. It is the conflict between man's aspirations, his hopes, which he consciously entertains and which involve sacrifice in their attainment, and his historic past which drags him back and makes him desire the path of least resistance, which is selfish. Dr. Hall has illustrated this situation most happily by using the simile of the iceberg. The iceberg is nine-tenths submerged, and although it may appear that its motion is controlled by the forces which act upon its visible portions, yet we very frequently see that this is not so, that the great submerged nine-tenths often move it in direct opposition to winds and superficial currents. And so it

is with the unconscious,—its motive power has always to be reckoned with and oftentimes it moves us to action in a direction quite contrary to that which we would consciously choose. The unconscious wishes are, therefore, always selfish. They may be expressed in terms of the "will to power." They desire the greatest possible development of the individual, the maximation of his ego, whereas progress can only take place by sacrificing something of this desire, giving it up in order to attain to something higher and something better.

THE INSTINCT FOR THE FAMILIAR—THE SAFETY MOTIVE

To be more specific let me trace the way in which this conflict arises in the individual. The baby, in its mother's uterus, may be said to be omnipotent, that is, it has no ungratified desires, it does not have to eat, to breathe, or do, in fact, anything. All the functions are performed for it, and it rests quietly and undisturbed in a warm fluid in which it floats without effort. When the child is born there is born at the same time: desire. All of these comforts, so to speak, are given up and the child is thrust into a world in which it will never know again the peace that has been left behind. About the first thing a child does is to cry, its futile protest against the demands of reality, and the way in which this cry is stilled by the nurse is to wrap it up in warm blankets and put it in a dark room, thus reproducing as nearly as possible the intra-uterine condition. From now on there is a constant conflict, between the

desire of the baby to seek comfort and rest on the one hand, and the insistent demands of the world of reality, which never for a moment cease their efforts to obtain recognition. All sorts of lights and shadows play about the baby, all kinds of sounds assail his ear, new sensations come from his skin at every point, and he must needs pay some attention to all these multiple stimuli—make some kind of adjustment to them. Here is the beginning of the conflict, the struggle for ascendancy between what has been called the pleasure-pain and the reality principles or, as I prefer to say, between the pleasure motive and the reality motive for conduct. The baby would fain continue in the luxury of soft, warm blankets, in the darkness and away from all sources of stimulation, but reality is not to be so easily sidetracked, it breaks through all his defences by skin, eye, and ear stimuli, by hunger and thirst, and in innumerable other ways demands and obtains recognition.

Here we find, in its simplest terms, the struggle between, what may be called instinct, on the one hand and reality on the other. The baby exhibits in his reactions the paradigm for all his future difficulties in life, he prefers to remain attached to that which he has become familiar with, resists and resents those forces that compel him to leave the familiar for the unfamiliar, to abandon the known for a venture into the region of the unknown. I will call this type of reaction the reaction of *the instinct for the familiar—the safety motive.*

Without following further the details of this wonderful period of life, we may jump to a little later time, when we find the baby old enough to be sitting up and playing with things which have been given him. Suppose he plays with his rattle for a while and then drops it. Some one is standing by to pick up the dropped rattle and to put it again into the baby's hands. The household is at the baby's command, there is always some one standing about to wait upon him, to do the thing that he wants done. He has given up some of the comforts, but he still retains a tremendous command over his surroundings. He gives up his omnipotence only under the duress of the unavoidable demands of reality: he resents his slowly failing command over his environment: his reactions show his desire to hang on to his waning powers: they are the reactions of *the instinct for the familiar—the safety motive.*

From now on for a considerable time the infant is in what corresponds to the cultural level of *animism* as it is designated when applied to primitive man. This is typically seen in the play of the child. The dolls are not only personified but are given definite personalities which are developed, often with great elaboration, as time goes on. Not only the dolls but the whole environment tends to be given personal attributes. The animals are conversed with and become intimate friends, while even inanimate nature is dealt with in similar ways. Trees, chairs and tables are addressed, the stars look down as persons upon the child and are com-

municated with, while the moon often becomes an intimate confidant.

The type of reaction which belongs to this animistic stage of development is only relinquished with great difficulty, and indicates the extent of his failure to separate himself completely from his environment. It testifies to the reality of the individual-environment relation, as set forth in the last chapter, for while during all this period of development he is engaged in a profound research which has the very purposes of separating himself from his environment, of finding out just what belongs to him and what does not, still his reactions in later life show wherein he has failed.

To give an example that will be easily recognized. An individual has a task to perform, perhaps the writing of a letter. Instead of sitting down and doing it he becomes surly and irritable and finally when he does start to do it he writes out the first portion, it does not suit him, and he tears it up in anger, throws it down and makes use of certain expressions which indicate clearly that he is personifying the letter, that is the paper, the task. The explanation of such conduct is that it is infantile in several respects. He is personifying his environment just as children and savages do. The savage sees malign spirits at work in the tree against which he barks his shins just as the child talks in anger to the chair against which he has bumped himself. This is the animistic stage of development in which the individual has not yet adequately separated him-

self from his environment. In this stage of development it is relatively easy to project one's own difficulties upon the environment and react in this way and thus avoid a recognition of personal shortcomings—in short avoid the demands of reality. Witness the billiard player who blames his poor playing upon the balls, the table, the cue, in short everything but his own lack of skill. Such a person is reacting as was his wont when a child to react against those persons in his environment who interfered with his pleasure seeking. If we will stop and think we will realize that a great part of the child's education in the home is taken up with being told what *not* to do. He is being constantly interfered with in his activities and these activities are constantly being repressed as bad, as naughty, as not nice, etc., etc. We are accustomed to seeing the child grow irritable and restive under such constant repressions. The type of reaction I have described is just such a return to infantile ways of reacting, a return under the stress of reality to a more familiar region, a region which gives the sense of at-homeness. Just as he used to react against his mother who interfered with his enjoyment of forbidden pleasures so now the billiard player reacts against the balls and the cue. As the mother used to symbolize his inability to get pleasure so now they symbolize his own inadequacy to play the game as well as he wishes to. We would prefer to remain in the region of the known, the familiar, where we feel

safe. Again it is the reaction of *the instinct for the familiar—the safety motive.*

During infancy and adolescence the conflict assumes a somewhat more easily recognizable personal quality, and takes the form of what has been called the *family romance.* In this period the child goes through a series of love experiences which are calculated to develop him along those lines which will make him ultimately socially efficient. At first, as soon as he has learned the difference between himself and those about him, his affection is naturally addressed to the members of the immediate household,—to the mother, father, brothers, and sisters, or other relatives, and the nurse who may constitute a part of the family. These are the people from whom he gets care and tenderness, who supply him with food, minister to his wants, and who protect him in every way. To be an efficient member of society, however, he has to emancipate himself from this group of people, he has to be able to transfer his love to some one outside of the family and found a new centre himself. This severing of family ties, casting loose from the parental moorings and going forth to conquer life on one's own responsibilities is one of the most painful events in the history of the individual and one of the most necessary, and even a partial failure to accomplish this result brings all sorts of trouble in later years.

What is meant here is, of course, not a geographical separation but a separation in feeling so far as

feeling spells dependence, infantilism. The excessive affection which holds many families together is often purely of this selfish kind seeking only personal safety and not the independence and self-sufficiency of the loved one.[1] Again we find the individual resisting the demands of reality that would project him into the great region of the unknown, again we find him reacting to *the instinct for the familiar—the safety motive.*

THE PATH OF OPPOSITES—LOVE AND HATE

That idea that lies closest in association with any other idea is its opposite. The idea closest in our mind to the idea of hot is cold, to long is short, to fat is lean, to weak is strong, etc. This tendency to group ideas in our minds in accordance with this principle of opposites is a fundamental characteristic of our thought processes, probably a law of thinking which has grown out of certain necessities in our relations with our surroundings. For example, if it was always bright sunlight the idea of brightness would never have to be formulated as nothing ever happened with which it came into contrast and therefore such an idea would have no use. But the night follows the day and so for each of these portions of the day an idea arises which is in contrast to the other.

This contrast is well shown in the development of

[1] For a full discussion of the family romance see "Mechanisms of Character Formation."

language. The early Egyptians had only one word for strong and weak. It is as if the word, so to speak, referred to the whole question of the amount of strength. In their hieroglyphics they indicated its more specific reference by the addition of a picture of an erect, vigorous man or a seated, exhausted man. Probably in speech these distinctions were made by gestures.

This principle of the path of opposites is apparently a very fundamental one. Much might be written in further illustration and explanation of it. I have merely set it forth briefly, we will meet it often in our experiences with people.

Two very important opposites, in fact, perhaps the most important and the most fundamental, are the opposites love and hate. These antithetic emotions have always been recognized as being mysteriously closely allied, although on the face of it they have nothing in common. That they are opposites is the key to their close relationship and the ease with which, at times, one may replace the other. This ambivalent love-hate type of reaction is very common, very important in its pathological manifestations. Love is always the expression for what is constructive in the individual, hate for what is destructive, and so their outward manifestations are of great importance in determining which way, so to speak, the individual is going, whether he is on the forward path that leads to life or the backward path that leads to death.

Love and hate are expressions for what is most

fundamental in our emotional life, and because love is constructive and hate destructive it is equally fundamental that any movement calculated for the betterment of mankind must be founded upon the one and eschew the other. We will see the great value of this distinction, which may perhaps seem rather simple and axiomatic, when we come to the special problems and find that, in spite of its apparent self evident quality, it has been entirely overlooked in meeting many practical issues. We shall be able to trace certain types of failure in dealing with the socially inadequate to just this failure to appreciate this principle.

I will follow out some of the common types of this love-hate reaction in the mechanism known as projection.

PROJECTION—THE ANTIPATHIC EMOTIONS

I have already given examples of projection in the last section—the person with the task (to write a letter) and the billiard player. These types of reaction are exceedingly common and even impress the average observer, when extreme, as childish. In the case of the billiard player for instance, a moderate amount of fussing about the cue, the balls, etc., is all right. Of course one cue is better than another and some balls are better than others. When, however, such a player keeps up a constant stream of talk all through the game of bitter sarcasm and criticism against the management of the Club, for instance, the care of the tables, the neglect

of every one to do their duty, when he broadens the whole criticism out to include people in general and his talk degenerates into a series of cynicisms upon life, the government, the country, when the slightest remark or even the failure to speak, when a good shot or a bad one equally call for a torrent of criticism of everybody and everything, the reaction is at least bordering on the pathological and can at least be appreciated by the average observer as certainly very disagreeable and something to be avoided. This is the common form of projecting one's own difficulties upon the persons and things about them and blaming them. It is the old method of the child and of primitive man, and not so primitive after all. During the Inquisition not only were animals tried and condemned but inanimate objects as well, and still further back we have the picture of Xerxes having the ocean lashed with chains for wrecking his ships.

The term projection, however, is technically used for a somewhat more subtle mechanism. It may be simply expressed in that homely observation one hears so frequently from the friends of the mentally ill—that "the insane always turn upon their best friends." Here, of course, we meet again the love-hate opposites, but why? Suppose a business man is attracted to a young clerk in his employ and singles him out for special favours, gives him exceptional opportunities, in short puts everything in his way with which he can build success. Now suppose that this clerk is a failure and when promoted to a

high position of trust demonstrates his absolute incompetency for the position. How does the business man feel towards him? He feels "disappointed in him," and somehow this feeling of disappointment seems in some way to come *from* the young man. Now suppose the clerk had not only failed but had falsified the accounts and robbed his employer. The feeling of affection which the employer had previously had for his clerk, might now easily be turned into its ambivalent opposite hate, which would always be excited when he came into his presence or was called upon to consider him in any way. Again the emotion seems to depend upon a something coming *from* the hated one.

Of course this kind of reaction does not always take place but when it does it is because the love was selfish in the sense already described. The employer's love was not directed towards making the young man independent of him but dependent upon him because he took pleasure in this dependence. Therefore the disappointment as even the hate is for himself as symbolized in the clerk. That it seems to come from him is a distortion to escape the unpleasant realization of the fact.

All these mechanisms are simple and easy to understand. Now suppose that one person has an affection for another without quite knowing it, in other words, without its being clearly conscious. A woman, for example, may be very fond of a young man without even having acknowledged it to herself because he has never expressed love for her. Her

pride, therefore, would not permit her to acknowledge a love that was not returned. Under such circumstances the absolutely polite and considerate conduct of the man towards her, so long as it contains not the least suggestion of love, is only exasperating to the last degree. The woman comes to actually hate the man, she could "tear his eyes out," she "can't bear to have him around" and shows by such expressions as these that her love has switched over, temporarily at least, to its ambivalent opposite hate. And, too, in this instance the hate seems to be due to something coming *from* the man. His manner, his way of dressing, his method of address are all hateful.

This example gives us the key to the projection mechanism. When our love would go out in a certain direction but finds its path blocked, finds itself up against a stone wall, so to speak, then we feel *from* the loved object only pain. This pain comes *from* the loved object and so prevents a realization that the trouble is within and not without. This is the mechanism which is at the back of the delusions of persecution so common in the psychoses. But why all these elaborate mechanisms? Why is it necessary to prevent a realization that the trouble is with ourself and not in the other person?

Whenever it has been possible to adequately analyze one of these hates, such, for example, as are seen in the delusions of persecution of paranoiacs where instead of a feeling of hate there is a feeling on the part of the patient of some malign influence

emanating from the persecutor, a feeling of danger from this source, whenever it has been possible to analyze such a situation, it has been found that the love, which is felt as hate coming *from* the loved one, has a quality which appeals to the patient's sense of security. In other words, the person loved is loved not in the normal adult way that makes for efficiency but because they afford a sense of safety, because they have money or power and can protect, because, perhaps, they resemble the parent and therefore reanimate the old feeling of infantile dependence. Thus, it will be seen, such hates tend to drive us away from sources of danger, from attachments that would prove our undoing. It is again our old friend *the instinct for the familiar—the safety motive.*

Projected hate or the feeling of persecution can thus be seen to have a positive function to perform. When, under such circumstances as are found in the examples given, we are tempted, so to speak, to lapse from an efficient dealing with reality we find an artificial barrier erected by ourselves, the barrier of hate which more or less effectually closes the pathway to indolence, inefficiency and destruction. To remain in the region of the familiar, not to venture forth where no trails are blazed, is all too easy and all our psychological reserves must be brought to the front if the day is to be saved. There are no stronger emotions than hate and fear, so these are pressed into active service. We hate and we fear

the very things we desire but if we possessed would destroy us.

The clerk who gets paranoid ideas towards his employer or hates him wants that sort of return for his love which his employer can not give him, and if he could would be so much the worse. He wants the sort of love a father gives a child, he wants protection, special consideration, favours and assurances; he is animated by the safety motive. When he does not get these his love is turned to hate and, such are the subtleties of reactions at this level, he then not infrequently does his work well in the spirit of "I'll show him" and so is kept in touch with reality even at the moment when it would appear the fight was lost. The *antipathic emotions* have a positive and a constructive function.

ANTAGONISM—IDENTIFICATION

The antagonism described in the last section under the head of the projection mechanism is seen to be an antagonism against a kind of love which should be discarded as the child grows to adulthood. It is a part of the effort to gain emancipation from the parents.

We find a somewhat simpler mechanism when the resistance is just simply the resistance against reality as represented by some source of authority. The child never objected to going to the circus with its father, it was the request to chop the wood that brought forth a reaction of antagonism. Later in

life efforts on the part of those in authority meet with like reactions, the child prefers to remain in the region of the known—again *the instinct for the familiar—the safety motive.*

Conversely we find certain people, not antagonistic, not hostile towards the love object but, and this is a widespread type of reaction, tending to identify themselves with it. Of course here are the familiar instances of the boy who wants to grow up to be like father, the girl to be like mother, and quite as clearly those who form some attachment outside the family, a teacher, employer, a noted person who is taken as a model. The desirability of the result depends a good deal, naturally, upon the model chosen, whether it be a respectable citizen or a highwayman. It is also very important just how the identification is worked out, whether the model is an ideal and leads to the best aspirational efforts or whether the identification is only used to reinforce the safety motive for conduct.

The identification with the love object when that love object is desired, not as an ideal but as a means of safety and protection, is one of the ways in which the love object is appropriated in thought, one of the ways in which security is sought by thinking (phantasying) rather than by action. Many neurotic and psychotic patients, for example, reproduce quite accurately the peculiarities, even to the illnesses, of a parent.[2] Not infrequently the identification is with

[2] This has usually been explained as due to heredity which, of course it may be, but it not infrequently is a psychological reaction

the patient's own infantile self as in those cases that persist in certain habits of eating as, for instance, only eating those foods to which they had been accustomed as children in the home. Again *the instinct for the familiar—the safety motive.*

CONVERSION

In general the difficulties at the psychological level arise because of inability to deal effectively with reality, and in being forced back from an effective adjustment to reality the individual is pushed backwards to earlier instinctive levels of activity which are more familiar, to regions in which he feels a greater sense of security. Inasmuch as the psychological integrations are made possible only because of the physiological integrations, which have preceded them in the course of evolution and development, it must happen that, if the push back from reality is very great and long continued that those lower, bodily types of integration must often suffer. The mental conflict is outwardly expressed by disturbances of bodily function. Psychological conflict is converted into bodily disorder. This is what is implied by the term *conversion* and is the characteristic mechanism of hysteria.

We are all familiar with those cases of hysterical

(symbolization) pure and simple. To always explain on the hereditary hypothesis would be a poor way to approach the problem therapeutically and in any case it must often be impossible to predicate heredity until at least an effort is made to deal with the situation at the psychological, modifiable level.

paralysis in which an arm or a leg may be quite useless for months and which not infrequently is "miraculously" made to disappear over night, often to the chagrin of the attending physician, by some extra-professional "cure." The meaning of such cases can be seen in such an instance as that cited by Pfister.[3] A young man of seventeen notices a queer feeling in his left arm contemporaneous with a desire upon the part of his father to transfer him to a school to which he does not wish to go. Analysis revealed the fact that when a child he struggled so violently against being vaccinated that it had to be given up. Translated into terms of his present difficulty it means that since as a child he had succeeded in avoiding something disagreeable by his stubborn resistance, he wishes again to avoid something disagreeable in the same way. He tends, when presented with a reality situation to which he cannot bring himself to make an adequate adjustment, to revert, unconsciously of course, to a familiar type of reaction which had succeeded before in saving him from a disagreeable adjustment—*the instinct for the familiar—the safety motive.*

These hysterical conversions are used in all sorts of ways and serve many purposes. Ames reports a case of hysterical blindness[4] in a man which was the result of a long period of incompatibility with

[3] "The Psychoanalytic Method." Moffat-Yard & Co., New York, 1917.

[4] T. H. Ames: "Blindness as a Wish," *The Psychoanalytic Review*, Vol. I, No. I, November, 1913.

his wife and expressed the desire on his part not to see her any more. Many hysterics develop bodily symptoms of illness in order to get that solicitous attention and consideration which, often because of their lack of lovable qualities, they could not otherwise obtain. They seek safety in childish reactions. Acting like children they are cared for and treated as children.

The conversion mechanism also serves more complex ends. A woman sues a railroad corporation for injuries received in an accident and collects a large verdict. Contrary to the supposed rule she does not get immediately well after the case is settled. She goes from one physician to another complaining of pain until she finally succeeds in inducing a surgeon to operate upon her. The operation revealed a perfectly normal state of affairs but after it the patient got promptly well. All the while she knew in the back of her head that she had not been injured and was not entitled to the money. The operation is a penance for her guilt. She wants the devil cast out (in this instance cut out) of her. The penance motive is very deep seated in man, we meet it over and over again in his various religions and in this case we see the hysterical conversion serving this motive. The patient feels the necessity, unconsciously of course, of suffering injury in order to justify herself for taking the money. She seeks for a return of her old self with its sense of security before she ventured on the dangerous path

of deceit. It is *the instinct for the familiar—the safety motive.*

The number and duration of physical and apparently physical disorders which may originate at the psychological level is endless.[5] It includes many forms of asthma, sore throat, difficult nasal breathing, stammering, headache, neurasthenia, backache, tender spine, "weak heart," faint attacks, exophthalmic goitre (Grave's or Basedow's disease), aphonia, spasmodic sneezing, hiccough, rapid respiration, hay fever, gastro-intestinal disturbances (constipation, diarrhœa, indigestion, colitis, ulcer of stomach), ptosis of kidney, diabetes, disturbances of urination (polyuria, incontinence, precipitancy), menstrual disorders, autointoxication (from long continued digestive disturbance), nutritional disorders of skin, teeth, and hair, etc., etc. This list will give some idea of how frequent these disturbances are, how they affect all organs of the body, and so invade all departments of medicine.

OTHER DEFENCE MECHANISMS

All of the various mechanisms I have described belong to what may be called *defence mechanisms.* They have as their purpose, among other things, defending the individual from a knowledge of his

[5] For recent literature see G. Hudson-Makuen, Presidential Address, American Laryngological Association, *N. Y. Med. Jour.*, Nov. 4, 1916; Guthrie Rankin: "The Highly Strung Nervous System," *Br. Med. Jour.*, Oct. 21, 1916; Crile: "Man—An Adaptive Mechanism," N. Y., 1916, The Macmillan Co.

own shortcomings, his own deficiencies. They are all efforts, ineffectual efforts and therefore forms of *compromise* and *compensation,* to escape the adequate, straightforward and necessary way of dealing with reality if it is to be effectually handled.

A murderer killed a man by stabbing. I questioned him in order to see how he felt about his act and his sentence to life imprisonment. In the first place he was very emphatic in his blame of the deceased for picking a quarrel with him. He was very much larger than the prisoner and so the only way in which he (the prisoner) could adequately defend himself was with some weapon. The deceased knew this and was virtually taking his life in his hands when he started the trouble. Then again the doctor did not treat the wound as he should have. The man, therefore, really came to his death through his own foolhardiness and the lack of skill of the physician. This was all told with a smiling countenance and without the remotest suggestion that the prisoner blamed himself in the least. This is the reaction of *justification* by the process of *rationalization.*

The alcoholic justifies his indulgence by just such rationalizations. He drinks because it is hot or because it is cold, because he cannot refuse a friend, or one drink won't hurt him, or he did not really mean to drink that evening at all, or a thousand other "sophisms of the indolent" to protect him from a realization that he is not equal to the effort of refusal or resistance.

The man who is failing in mental efficiency believes that other members of the office force are putting up jobs on him, annoying him, interfering with him in all sorts of ways so he cannot do his work. He projects his failing efficiency upon others and saves himself from realizing it.

A disagreeable task has to be performed at a certain time—it is forgotten or a headache is developed as an excuse for its avoidance.

A man is guilty of cheating his closest friends out of some considerable money. He cannot look his friends in the face. To escape a realization that he is ashamed of his conduct because he is guilty, he develops a defect of vision and has to go about with smoked glasses and shaded eyes.

An automobilist runs over some one and speeds up his machine and runs away without looking back, trying to make himself think he did not see the accident, therefore knows nothing about it, therefore it did not happen.

A profoundly depressed woman dreams of being at home, happy with her children and so is compensated, to some extent, for her depression.

Persons of rather defective type of personality ape the mannerisms and peculiarities of dress of prominent people and thus bolster up their self esteem.

The list is endless, defence, compromise, compensation, adjustment, the mechanisms are few but the limits of their use are as many as the individuals

themselves.[6] Throughout them all, however, we see in operation *the instinct for the familiar—the safety motive.*

It is hoped that this brief survey of some of the more important of the mental mechanisms will enable the reader to see more clearly when he comes to the problems that we must now turn to.

[6] For a more profound discussion of the various mechanisms see "Mechanisms of Character Formation."

CHAPTER IV

THE INSANE

THE WORD INSANE

In the first place, before we can intelligently approach the problem indicated by the heading of this chapter it will be necessary to correct an almost universal misapprehension as to the meaning of the word insane. The wrong use of this word is responsible for really grievous errors and must be corrected if it is to be possible to deal with the questions included in this concept with intelligence.

The word insane has been applied loosely for a long time to those patients who were to be found in the large asylums and hospitals for the insane and to persons in the community who acted so strangely as to set them apart from other people. The word has never had, in its popular use, a more definite meaning than this. The only important effort to clearly define what was meant by insane has been made by the law. Here even we do not find any very understandable attempt if we read the statutes but we do find a perfectly well defined method of procedure to determine whether a given individual conforms to the definition laid down or not. This method is the method of trial before a jury and the verdict of the jury decides the issue. On the face of it this seems

an absolutely absurd proposition, especially when we find that the statute defines an "insane person" as a person of "unsound mind" thus merely substituting one term for another. Any one at all familiar with mental disease knows that there are many forms of mental illness, and to group them all under one term—insanity—gives us hardly any more information than to say they are all sick, and certainly no more information than we would have of a sick person if we inquired what the matter was with him and were told that he had a cough. In the latter case the patient might have a cold, bronchitis, laryngitis, pneumonia, pulmonary tuberculosis, heart disease, asthma, and I am sure I do not know how many more things—in the former case the information would be quite as indefinite.

It is perfectly clear, therefore, that the jury can have no intelligent understanding of what they are doing in the light of present-day scientific standards. What is the meaning of their action then? If the jury is conceived as society in miniature then their verdict is the verdict of society, which means that society has decided to label such and such an individual as "insane" in the same arbitrary way that it does other things, attaches other labels, as for example the label of majority (age twenty-one), the age of consent, the label of grand larceny as distinguished from petit larceny (based on value stolen), the label of legislator, judge, etc., etc. From the previous discussion it is easy to see that the jury is acting, not with clear conscious intent but instinc-

tively, reflecting the attitude of the herd, which in this instance is to regard the individual as sick, as irresponsible, and so to treat him kindly and take such care of him as may result in his getting well. Of course I am referring only to the more advanced communities, I am painfully aware that this is very much more than can be read into the verdict in all too many places.

To know that a person has been "labelled" insane by "due process of law," therefore, tells us practically nothing about that individual except that the herd, as represented by the jury, having noted his being so different from the average individual, has concluded to label him "insane" and send him to a public institution for the care of the "insane." Insanity therefore means nothing more nor less than commitable or, better, certifiable.

Can we get any better idea of the characteristics of this group labelled "insane"?

If one will think of a primitive community out in the Middle West during the times when the Middle West was yet the frontier, one will realize that a member of that relatively primitive community could, if one will think of Mark Twain's descriptions, ride down the centre of the street and yell and holler and shoot, and it was thought to be a comparatively normal kind of conduct and nobody thought it was strange and nobody interfered with it. Now when communities get to be older and more civilized, when they get to be more congested, one cannot do anything that he may happen to choose,

without, perhaps, crossing the path of someone else. Then certain conventions of conduct have to be followed and there have to be greatly restricted lines of conduct, so that if a man acted as I have described, he knows just where he would land. It might be and probably would be, in the jail. In other words, he is exhibiting a certain type of conduct which the community—to speak in slang phrase—won't stand for, and they simply remove him from it.

In the group of people that are called "insane" are people who exhibit certain types of conduct which cannot be tolerated in the community in which they happen to live. I remember some time ago, in walking down to my quarters at the hospital, a woman threw up the window, thrust her head out and shouted, "Murder!" Nobody paid any attention whatever to her. We were used to that sort of thing. She shut the window down, and went back to bed. She was in a community where she was understood. But she could not do that sort of thing anywhere outside of an institution without being shut up for "insanity." And so it is that an individual must conform to the established usages of the society in which he lives.

Now what is the characteristic of these types of conduct? It is social inadequacy. The individual who manifests a kind of conduct that is calculated to tear down the existing conventions, to deviate greatly from the normal conduct of the community—that person is an individual who has to be

relegated to some place other than a position of free citizenship. Thus certain types of socially inefficient conduct may be said to be "insane" conduct, and so the word "insanity" comes to be, as I see it, not a medical term at all, but a social term which defines certain kinds of socially inefficient conduct.

Let me elaborate a little further what I mean by conduct. You or I or any one else can think all we want to about threatening some one's life; we can formulate all sorts of plans about meeting him and shooting him, as long as we do not say anything about it or do not do anything about it. But let us for a moment start to put such a plan into execution, and that moment something will happen to us. In other words, we may have any sort of desire, our thinking apparatus may function in any one of a great number of ways, but so long as it does not manifest itself in our outward conduct in any way, society has no interest in it. So then, I would say that "insanity" includes certain types of socially inefficient conduct, certain kinds of socially inefficient conduct that cause trouble in the community.

To gather up the threads—"insanity" is not a medical term at all but a social and legal term: it does not refer primarily to mental disease but to conduct: the types of conduct to which it refers are socially inadequate conduct but only of such kinds and degrees as are incompatible with life in the community of which the individual is a member: and further they are such types of conduct which the herd

looks upon as evidence of disease and as implying irresponsibility and therefore leniency.

While "insane" conduct is, therefore, the result of mental disease, "insanity" and mental disease are not interchangeable terms. While all the insane are theoretically mentally ill (a person adjudicated as insane is nevertheless insane even though it be found out afterwards that a mistake had been made) not all the mentally ill by any means are insane in the sense of having been adjudicated or even in the sense of certifiable, that is, could be adjudicated. Mental illness is a broad concept that may well include many highly efficient and valuable members of the community. It is, therefore, only certain kinds and degrees of mental illness which may be classified socially and legally as "insanity."

And finally, that feature of the conduct which makes the herd look leniently upon it is of great importance as we shall see when we come to consider those varieties of conduct upon which the herd looks very differently, namely, the criminal.

The insane, therefore, to use the word as I have defined it, will be seen to be constituted of a heterogeneous mixture of types, the only common characteristic of which is that they have been labelled and that they present a series of conduct disorders, due to a multitude of various mental diseases, that render their orderly living in a community and constituting useful members thereof impossible. They

are segregated and put apart from the rest of the herd because they are points of lost motion which interfere with the efficient running of the social machine. The disorder is a disorder of the individual-society relation. From now on I shall avoid the use of the word insane, except as being synonymous with certifiable, and use instead such terms as mental disease and psychosis.

HISTORICAL

This book is not, by any means, intended to take up all of the multitudinous issues that present for consideration in relation to the dependent, defective and delinquent classes. It has no such object. Its object is quite different; it is to effect a new orientation towards these problems more especially from the viewpoint of preventive medicine rather than from such viewpoints as the economic or the administrative, for example. Historical matters will, therefore, only be touched upon to the extent that they may throw light upon this particular pathway.

As is well known, in the early days, in the Middle Ages, and among peoples at lower cultural levels than ourselves the so-called insane have been regarded usually from one of two opposite standpoints, either as being inspired, or as being possessed of the devil. Unfortunately the latter viewpoint has been taken much the more frequently, and the result has been disastrous for the poor, sick individual.

Even in later times, the latter part of the 18th cen-

tury and the fore part of the 19th century, while the insane person was often not specifically thought to be possessed of the devil, literally speaking, yet he was treated very much as if he were. The literal application of the doctrine of diabolical possession may have and did go out of existence, at least in many places, but there remained a certain attitude toward those of diseased mind which was not very different from that born of this horrid superstition. The mentally diseased were considered, just as they had been under the influence of the superstition, to be beings apart from others; "craziness" was a condition which was not capable of being understood, and which had the practical effect of isolating and ostracizing those who suffered from it. Along with this attitude, borne of ignorance, there naturally went the twin brother of ignorance,—fear,—for wherever there is a lack of understanding, wherever phenomena are enveloped in mystery, wherever the source of events is unknown, there we always find fear. Ignorance and fear then, have been the great obstacles that have had to be overcome in dealing with the problems of the care and the treatment of the mentally diseased, and they are problems which have been overcome only partly and only here and there, because they are defects within ourselves, and therefore it is only with the extremest difficulty that we are able to appreciate them and even then probably not at their full value. The patients themselves, however, through the ages, have been crying out to be understood, and it is only in the most

recent times, since the mental mechanisms, some of which I have described in the last chapter, have been worked out, that we have been able to turn an understanding ear to what they had to say.

In the midst of all the horror and the degradation with which the care of the insane has been surrounded as a result of ignorance and fear there have always stood forth commanding personalities who have preached the gospel of love and have endeavoured by the force of their noble example to introduce a spirit of kindliness and humanitarianism into the work. Such men, for example, were Celsus, who nearly two thousand years ago advocated quiet walks in beautiful gardens, music, hydrotherapy, reading, meditation, in the treatment of mental disease; Pinel (1745–1826) who in the latter part of the 18th century, struck the chains from the unfortunate inmates of the Paris hospitals; Reil [1] (1759–1813), whose work on the treatment of mental diseases might be read with profit to-day, and later, in our own times and within comparatively recent years, Dorthea L. Dix (1802–1887), whose name is intimately connected with so many hospitals for the care of this class of patients in the United States, and later still, Beers,[2] through whose activities the National Committee for Mental Hygiene came into existence.

[1] See the author's "Reil's Rhapsodieen," *Jour. Nerv. and Ment. Dis.*, January, 1916.

[2] Clifford W. Beers: "A Mind that Found Itself, An Autobiography." New York, 1913.

As a result of humanitarian endeavour the care of the insane emerged from the dark ages, controlled by superstition, into the philanthropic period. The history of this movement in this country, began about a hundred years ago. The idea of kindness was brought from England largely by the Quakers, who first gave concrete expression to their view in the institutions in Pennsylvania, and this idea spread and brought to its standard many men and women of noble, self-sacrificing character, and there grew out of it the doctrine of non-restraint which has been so splendidly put into operation by such men as Page, in Massachusetts, and there further grew out of it the idea of treatment by industrial occupation which is used to such good advantage in so many institutions at the present time.

All these developments were useful and served valuable ends, but they were not satisfying. It was still felt, even after the development had proceeded along all these lines and reached a fair degree of perfection, that after all the great hospitals for the care of the mentally diseased were largely boarding houses where groups of people who were inefficient and could not get along in the social milieu were brought and housed, treated kindly, to be sure, and given opportunity for occupation to while away otherwise idle hours, but that aside from removing them, particularly in acute conditions, from the circumstances in which and about which their disorder developed, aside from this one thing, with of course good feeding and housing, aside from this, there

was very little, practically nothing done in the way of actual treatment.

The most significant attempt to definitely introduce the therapeutic idea into these hospitals was made through an effort to conduct them after the same manner as the general hospitals. Patients were received and placed in bed, trained nurses were provided for their care, and most careful examinations and observations were made, temperature, pulse, respiration were recorded, the physical examinations of the internal organs were carefully gone into, and every attempt was made to discover any physical illness which might be present and to care for the physical health on the theory that in some way the mental state was dependent upon it. This general hospital idea had much to commend it, much indeed which was not conceived of by those who originated it. The training schools for nurses are the outgrowth of this idea, and in its operation it brought to the care of the mentally diseased patient a higher grade of care-taker and one who the hospital made considerable effort to specially equip for the work. The trained nurse as a graduate of the hospital training school was therefore more efficient and more intelligent, and the patient benefitted accordingly.

Still with all this, and with all the improvements which resulted there was still dissatisfaction, for after all, the actual problem, the treatment of the mental disease itself, not as an outgrowth, an adjunct, or a dependency of some physical trouble,

but as a thing in itself, as it usually is, the actual treatment of the mental disease per se was not really touched. Kindliness was the order of the day, was the ideal towards which every one who entered into the work was made to look; greater intelligence permeated the entire situation, and yet, and here is the significant thing, not greater intelligence about the actual mental disease itself. Very little in all this time had actually been learned about what mental disease really meant. It was still about as much of a mystery as it had been when it was superstitiously regarded as the result of divine inspiration or diabolical possession. Such superstition, to be true, had left the stage and left forever, but nothing had effectively taken its place. With the exception of a few conditions dependent upon gross injury or disease of the brain, we were in as much darkness regarding the underlying factors of disease as had been our predecessors of generations before. "Craziness" was for the most part still just "craziness," and while ignorance and fear had been robbed of the props of superstition, they were still very much in evidence on their own account.

Perhaps throughout this stage of development that I have been tracing, this stage of transition, from the period of superstition to that of philanthropy, in which the ideal,—kindness,—was the goal toward which every effort was directed, the most constant matter for controversy was the doctrine of non-restraint. There seemed to be a constant tendency of the whole question of the care and treatment

of the mentally diseased to revolve about this problem, and yet the amount of change which was gradually wrought in the matter of physical restraint was perhaps on the whole very small as compared with the amount of agitation which the subject received. Institutions, during the past generation at least, went on and continued to go on much as they had before, while here and there came forth a man like Page, already mentioned, who stood out for absolute non-restraint and who succeeded in effecting his ends by giving an enormous amount of personal attention and never ending vigilance to that particular problem. Other institutions went their way without very much change, unless they were brought to book by serious criticism, and still others, and this applies perhaps to the larger number, substituted chemical restraint for physical restraint, a substitution of very doubtful advantage. Patients, from being manacled, tied, placed in camisoles, or under strong sheets, were made continuously stupid by the administration of powerful drugs. This largely was yielding to the letter of the new ideal, but not to its spirit. The humanitarian movement, the efforts towards kindliness and consideration in the treatment of these unfortunate people seemed still to be effectually stopped by the same factors that wrought such havoc hundreds of years before,—ignorance and fear. Progress beyond a certain point seemed practically impossible, except as here and there it was the reflection of some great personality. To illustrate the state of affairs I will quote

from the preface of an anonymous publication of 1823. It is called "Sketches in Bedlam," and contains a short account of that historic institution, together with the case histories of a considerable number of its inmates. "Among the great charitable establishments of the British empire this holds a pre-eminent rank, and by the excellence of its regulations and medical treatment, it may be justly considered a model of imitation for all Europe. For this rare improvement Bethlehem Hospital is indebted to a series of measures, planned and executed with consummate wisdom and indefatigable perseverance. Experience was the grand basis of these measures. During a long, minute, and patient investigation, carried on through successive sessions, by a Parliamentary Committee, the practice adopted in all other establishments of a similar nature, whether public or private, throughout the United Kingdom, was diligently examined; the skill and opinions of all the medical men most conversant with the subject, were attentively consulted and compared. The detection and reform of errors and abuses, arising from ignorance, apathy, caprice, or cruelty, which had been too long prevalent, constituted the happy result of that laborious, but humane inquiry; and benevolence was never, perhaps, consecrated by a nobler triumph, than when it was satisfactorily demonstrated, that force and terror, instead of alleviating, tended but to aggravate the miseries and horrors of insanity and delirium. The philanthropic views of the British

legislature and the British nation were at length realized. Harsh usage and irritating coercion gave way to mildness, forbearance, and indulgence, and the wretched inmates of this asylum of mental derangement were liberated from unnecessary violence, intimidation, and solitary confinement." Surely this might have been written yesterday. The objects, the aims, are our own objects and aims, the intentions are as good as they could be. When we turn from this preface to the account of the cases we find that the first case, Patrick Walsh, is described in considerable detail. Let me quote you from the description of his case. After having killed a fellow patient the following is a description of the means that were taken to restrain him by the keeper. "He had put on him at first a pair of handcuffs of extraordinary strength, made purposely for himself, which he broke in a very short time. The keeper then put on him, by order, two pairs of the common handcuffs; but these, within two hours afterwards, he smashed into a hundred pieces. It was then found necessary to contrive other means for his restriction, consisting of an iron cincture that surrounds his waist, with strong handcuffs attached to it, sufficient to check his powers of manual mischief, but with liberty for all his requisite occasions of food, drink, taking snuff, etc., etc. Such are the means for his restraint day by day: not painful to him, but merely for the safety of others. At night it is found necessary to fasten him by one hand and leg to his bedstead, with strong locks and

chains. . . . He is locked up in his own room, the door of which, as well as that of the dining room, are made of remarkable strength, with double bolts, and perfectly secure; for he would break through the common bed-room doors instantly." You will see that with all the ideals just as they should be the result is the same old result. Why is this?

With the ideal of kindness we had been expecting to accomplish everything, we had left out a consideration of the personal equation, the personal equation in this instance being a function usually of ignorance and fear. Kindliness alone could never solve the problem. There might be individuals with a sufficiently inexhaustible fund of tenderness towards the unfortunate who would never lose their temper, who would never be irritated by what they did, but this certainly could apply only to a small number of individuals. How about the nurses, or more usually attendants, who have to spend the entire day on the wards with troublesome, irritating, violent, abusive, dirty, destructive patients? Can kindliness go on day after day in the face of the most absolutely irritating of all possible things, patients persistently filthy, destructive, noisy, profane and abusive, apparently for no other reason than to irritate their caretakers? How can a simple country girl, who is called in from the surrounding district to this work, be expected to preserve a uniformly kindly attitude towards this sort of situation when there is absolutely no light in it for her, nothing which points to any explanation

other than the explanation which occurs to her of innate cussedness, and yet the girls and boys that were brought in from the surrounding districts to take care of these patients did measure up, in a way that is nothing short of remarkable, to the demands that the institutions made upon them. I do not know of any greater tribute that could be paid to the innate decency of human nature than the tribute that is paid every day by the young men and the young women on the wards of institutions caring for this class of patients who have nothing within them to draw upon but just their spirit of kindliness, gentleness, and sympathy, without in the majority of cases one beam of a real intelligent appreciation of what it all means. It became apparent that something more than kindness was needed and that something more was knowledge.

THE IDEAL OF KNOWLEDGE

It has been shown in the previous chapter how people are continually trying to escape from the demands of reality. This is the key to the understanding of the psychosis. In the psychosis there is a very successful "flight from reality," so successful in fact as to quite incapacitate the patient for life except in a well protected situation, usually an institution. The psychotic, however, does something more than run away from reality. In place of the world he *can not* live in he builds a new world in which he *can* live. It is our business to try and find out about this world of his as a necessary precondition to any

intelligent effort to help him back into the world shared in common by his fellows. To do this we must learn to understand his language, be able to know what his delusions *mean*. This is the ideal of knowledge, the interpretative phase in our study of the psychoses which must replace the simple descriptive phase which was satisfied with recording a symptom and thought no more about it. We must learn to read meaning into the symptoms of mental disease just as physicians in other departments of medicine have learned to read meaning into the symptoms of the diseases they treat. To inquire into the meaning of a delusion is on all fours with enquiring into the meaning of an eruption and a rise in temperature.

Not only is this true from the scientific point of view but it is equally true from the patient's point of view. Any one who has been ill knows how important it is for his peace of mind to feel that the physician understands his symptoms, it is the basis of confidence. It is equally true of mental symptoms, and without doubt a great amount of the friction between patient and institution is based solely upon this ignorance. An individual-society disharmony has only too frequently, in the past, been replaced by a patient-institution one when the mentally ill person was committed.

An attitude on the part of the institution that sees in a restless irritability simply something to be repressed is not only unintelligent but invites a continuation of the very condition it is trying to do

away with and helps by the very repressive measures used to effect this end and to create and continue that patient-institution disharmony upon which it is very frequently based.

To give an example: A patient kicks out a lot of window-lights in a paroxysm of uncontrolled irritation, perhaps cuts himself in so doing, gets into a general squabble with his care-takers who endeavour to restrain him, maybe with the result that the physician in charge of that department is telephoned for. Now if knowledge is not the ideal of the institution how shall such a situation be dealt with? The patient has been irritated, has been disturbed, has yielded to his irritation, has gotten into a mix-up, a general disturbance on the ward has resulted, a lot of window-lights have been kicked out, one or two people have been struck, and temporarily the whole ward has been thrown into confusion. What can be the object in dealing with this situation? Simply that the patient must be so cared for that he cannot go on breaking out window-lights, that he cannot go on getting into squabbles with other people, that he cannot go on striking, kicking, tearing. How is such a thing to be accomplished? There are not very many ways. The natural way in recent years would be to give him a hypodermic or some powerful drug which would put him to sleep. A little longer ago he would have been put in a camisole, and in any case he is shut up in a room by himself, perhaps fastened to a bed, the ward is readjusted, the lights are put back in, the patient con-

tinues in more or less restraint for an indefinite period of time, from which he may gradually emerge to repeat the same kind of procedure with the same kind of results. No matter how much kindliness may animate everybody concerned, it will be agreed that nothing especial has been accomplished, except that the patient has been successfully repressed, usually very much to his discomfort, sometimes to his actual terror. Now if the ideal of knowledge is the ideal which animates this institution, what will happen? The doctor will come to the ward, he will dress the wounds of the patient, if there are wounds to dress, and then what will he do? The natural thing for him to do, if such an occurrence as this is perchance the first in the history of this patient, is to try to find out what it means, why did the patient smash out these window-lights, was he disturbed, irritated by somebody else about him, and if so could a little different distribution of patients be made to their mutual advantage, or did the cause lie within himself? Was smashing out the window-lights a certain expression of something that was going on within? Certainly there must be some reason why the patient broke out the window lights and did not break furniture, why he did it at that particular time, and why, as he probably did, he got relief from so doing. The whole attitude of the physician towards the problem would be to endeavour, as far as possible, to try and find out the answers to all these questions, and he will try and find out not only from the patients, but the nurses; he will question every-

body for light on the situation so that it may be dealt with more intelligently, so that perhaps the knowledge gained may be used to the advantage of the patient and help in a little way perchance towards his recovery. Can not you see how such an attitude towards such a situation sinks all questions of personal irritation? There no longer is any problem of whether the patient is to be roughly handled, strapped up in some restraining apparatus, terrified, hurt. Nothing personal can enter into this except the love which the doctor has for his work and which is reflected in this individual situation. Doctors, nurses, patients, every one, see an absolutely new attitude toward this kind of occurrence, an attitude of trying to understand, trying to find the meaning in the peculiar, aberrant, distorted ways in which only the patient is able to express himself, for remember the patient speaks a language that we must learn. We can not expect him to speak our language, we must learn his, and this attitude of trying to understand is one of helpfulness, constructive helpfulness, never one of kindliness alone, which may easily degenerate into sentimentality.[3] It is constructive and helpful, it does away with the necessity for meeting other problems, for the minute such an ideal dominates, these problems cease to exist.

In an institution dominated by the ideal of scien-

[3] Of course I do not mean to be understood as implying that kindness is no longer an ideal. It is, but the ideal of kindness is the kindness that is grounded in knowledge.

tific knowledge, this ideal will so permeate the atmosphere and its effects will be so profound upon the staff, upon the employés, upon all in fact, that there will gradually grow out of such a new standpoint a hospital finally and everlastingly free from the shackles of ignorance and fear, a hospital in which the patient will be received with the same understanding attitude that the patient with physical disease is now received in a general hospital, and when the patients are so received, and when they are so dealt with, the number of instances of violent outbreaks, serious injury, of resorting to terrorizing and repressing measures, will sink to an inconsiderable minimum.

If there is going to be antagonism between the institution and the patient it will begin the moment the patient is received. If the ideal of scientific knowledge dominates the hospital the patient will be received into an atmosphere that he feels at once to be filled with interest, desire to understand, constructive helpfulness, and from the very first there will be no occasion for that revulsion in his feelings which so sensitize him to irritation, and so lay the foundation for future outbreaks of irritability, resentment, resistance to the institution environment and influences.

The introduction of the ideal of scientific knowledge places the whole institution upon a higher plane, not only in the community, but in the minds of the very people who make up its personnel. The physician is dignified by being no longer a boarding

house keeper, but a professional man, practicing his profession with a full equipment of the necessary tools. He will be placed in a dignified position which will command the respect of his professional brethren. The hospital will assume its proper place in the community as the source of all the best information about mental diseases and mental medicine; the physicians will take their natural places as possessors and exploiters of that knowledge; the nurse will feel that she is truly practicing a definite nursing specialty, based upon scientific experience and not upon a lot of sentimental platitudes; and the community will feel that they have in their midst a truly representative institution which stands in a position to extend aid to them when they need it,—aid of the most approved, recent, and valuable kind.

The French failed to build the Panama Canal, not because of any inherent defects in the French as a people, but because the task at that time was not humanly possible. The hospitals, for example, which they built upon the Isthmus were provided, among other things, with large quantities of tropical plants, which of course had to be kept properly watered in order that they might grow. These plants, with their little puddles of water standing about them, were the very best breeding places in the world for the mosquito. It was not known then that the mosquito carried malaria, and so in their efforts to take care of the sick they did the one thing above all others that defeated anything else that they might do, they provided the very means for the

spreading of the disease which was destroying them, because they did not know. The discovery of the mosquito as the transmitting agent of malaria is one of the discoveries which was necessary before the Panama Canal could be dug, and so all the steps that I have described as preceding the introduction of scientific work into the hospital for the care and treatment of the mentally diseased, all of these steps were necessary and had to precede the present one, which is symbolized by the ideal of knowledge.

Some of the States are beginning to appreciate not only their duties to those who have been crippled by disease, but are also appreciating the opportunities which the accumulation of large numbers of the mentally diseased afford for scientific study. To go on year after year housing and caring for those who are unable to care for themselves without ever asking Why? to bear the steadily increasing burden of illness and inefficiency without ever asking To what end? to be confronted with a problem and never attempt its solution, all this is unintelligent. There is a problem, there is a burden. Only by that painstaking and analytic scrutiny we call scientific can the elements involved in the problem become known, and only when they have become known does it become possible to intelligently attempt their solution. The care and treatment of the so-called insane has passed through the period of superstition into the period of philanthropy. It is now passing through the period of philanthropy

to a still higher stage,—the period of knowledge. Knowledge, and knowledge alone will provide the data, make possible the solution of the many problems involved and finally and most important of all, it will be the means of developing principles which will effectively bring this branch of medicine within the field of endeavour of preventive medicine. The great hospitals for the insane must become the laboratories where these immensely important social problems are worked out. The knowledge which is primarily needed is the knowledge of the nature of the psychic disharmonies which are at the basis of mental disease and to which, in specific instances we give the name of conflict.

THE CONFLICT

The antithesis of instinct, which seeks the familiar, and the reality motive which urges the individual forward and into the region of the unknown, has already been indicated in the previous chapter. Every psychosis—mental disease—can be understood as such a conflict. This, however, is not saying enough. Every psychological integration, and for that matter integration at all other levels results from just such conflicts. The conflict states the problem, the significant thing is the way in which it is answered. It may be pictured as two opposing forces meeting on a certain plane. The result may be the yielding of one and the ascendancy of the other; a repeated vacillation, first one and then the other gaining the ascendancy; disaster, by

the smashing of one by the other; or finally a higher integration in a new setting. For example: The conflict is between the flexor muscles and the extensor muscles of the leg. One may overcome the other —the leg is either flexed or extended; neither one is able to dominate—the leg alternates between partial flexion and partial extension; one force breaks through the resistance of the other—the bone is broken (fracture of the knee cap—a not unusual result of sudden extension when time is not given, in a sudden effort at extension, for the flexors to relax); or a well adjusted movement for the accomplishment of a given end by the orderly and integrated action of both sets in harmony, i.e., while one set of muscles is being flexed the opposing group is correspondingly extending.

This illustration may be taken over to the psychological level. A wish is carried into execution —there is a simple overcoming of opposition (the individual overcomes his inertia in face of a task); neither tendency is able to overcome the other—a state of doubt results in which first one and then the other course of conduct is decided upon; one smashes the other—instinct succeeds in shutting out reality—a psychosis results; or a higher integration is reached by combining both motives in a sublimated, socialized form of conduct.

A psychosis results when reality is overcome. The patient becomes asocial and then can only carry out his wishes by a form of conduct which is recognized as evidence of sickness. A boy, for example,

the case already cited (Chapter III), wishes to overcome his father, and develops a peculiar feeling in his arm, thus reproducing a psychological situation in which he had previously succeeded in doing so. A patient who once, because of a neuralgia of the arm muscles could not work, later develops pain in the arm muscles, of psychological origin (psychogenic) in fear of a new situation when confronted by a task she does not wish to perform. The energy in these cases is not available for adequate adjustment, the conduct is inadequate to the situation.

In sublimated, or socialized integration the two forces are gathered up in a higher synthesis. The desire for wealth is socialized along those accepted lines of activity which are recognized as being legitimate ways of obtaining it.

Now from this point of view, it will be seen that a conflict can only meet a socialized solution either by repression—the overcoming of instinct by the reality-motive—or better yet by a higher form of integration in which both motives are made to subserve a higher end. A simple story will illustrate this apropos, at this point, of the illustration of the example of the unruly patient who became excited and broke out some window panes. Once upon a time, so the story goes, there were a number of students collected in a laboratory; they were discussing various problems among themselves; they had just entered a room together, and as they en-

tered they noticed, sitting on a table by the window, a bowl. This bowl happened to be so placed that the sunlight that streamed in through the window covered approximately that one half of the bowl which was towards the window. One of the students, in casually placing his hand upon the bowl as he went by, noticed, to his amazement, that the portion of the bowl that was in the sunlight was cooler than the portion that was in the shade. He called the attention of his companions to this phenomenon. They all verified it for themselves and then there arose a stormy argument as to the reason for this peculiar manifestation. All sorts of reasons were advanced, the argument became more and more animated, voices were raised to higher pitch; it was a veritable wrangle, each man wishing to have his say without regard to the others, and interrupting them without consideration. This scene had been going on for some moments when the attention of the janitor was attracted. He listened, however, for a while and then finally seizing the opportunity offered by a momentary lull, he volunteered to explain what had happened. The students incredulously turned toward him, but permitted him to go on. His explanation was simple; he said that just before they came into the room he had turned the bowl about. With the pronouncement of these few simple words the whole storm subsided, there no longer was any need for hypotheses, there was no longer any problem to be

solved. Knowledge had dissipated the necessity of a solution, because in the light of that knowledge there was no problem.

This story tells in a simple way the story of the resolution of the conflict. It shows how the introduction of a new element, knowledge, could gather up all the conflicting points in the evidence and bring them to a satisfying synthesis, and how as soon as this was done, there was nothing further to discuss—the conflict was at an end. It is an illustration of the ideal of knowledge.

Now, the patient in a hospital who is unruly, as this one was, and who acts instinctively, if met by just repression on the part of the hospital authorities, is not helped in any way. The various acts of repression, restraint (physical or chemical) are themselves instinctive acts and at the same level as those of the patient. The patient may be overcome but nothing has been accomplished that is constructive. *To succeed there must be,* to use a legal phrase, *a "meeting of minds" and not just a clashing of instincts.* Such a disturbance as described, due to a clashing of instincts, is an artificial creation of an environment incapable of adequately dealing with the situation. In an institution dominated by an effort to understand and help (love) such a situation would not arise, or at least not as frequently, and when it did would be met in a constructive way. By this I mean it would tend to be met in that way in which every difficult situation in life should be met—by trying to learn that from it which would

be helpful in avoiding such things in the future. If patients are dealt with in this way then such an outbreak may be of the greatest value in bringing them to such an understanding of themselves as will be helpful in bringing about that readjustment which spells recovery.

THE HOSPITAL

In the past few years a great change has come over many hospitals for the insane. The improvement in conditions is evident to the most casual observer. There does not begin to be such a large class of noisy, filthy and destructive patients, and throughout the institution there are all sorts of evidences of improvement, not only in the physical surroundings but in the state of mind of the patients. They are more at home, more composed, calmer and happier—in short they are better adjusted to a better environment. If the superintendent of such a hospital were asked to what the improvement was due he would probably have a good deal of difficulty in finding an answer, in putting his finger upon any specific explanation. This would particularly be so if he had only been in the work a short time, if he had not lived through the transition period and seen the changes slowly brought about. The truth of the matter is, there is no specific reason for this great change. It has been brought about by a multitude of causes, among which important ones are the taking over by the State of the care of the insane (State care) which

has meant the abolition of the County system, the county having been proven to be too small a political unit to grapple with such a large problem: the removal of the hospital from politics and so saving it from the evils of a political spoils system: placing the control of the hospital absolutely in the hands of a physician and so recognizing the overwhelmingly medical character of the problems: the maintenance of training schools for nurses in the hospital and so raising the standard of care and of the care takers: placing physicians under Civil Service regulations and basing promotion on merit, thus attracting a better class of medical men to the work; the introduction of courses in mental medicine in the various medical colleges, and so better equipping physicians for specializing in this field:[4] recognition of the evils of over-crowding and a corresponding attempt to correct them: the incorporation of industries and the consequent employment of a larger number of patients. All of these have been factors in the net result and, in fact, many more changes have contributed to that end but these are perhaps the most important. Summing them all up they are moves in the direction of a greater knowledge of the problem, of the deeper understanding of the insane and of the nature and meaning of mental disease.

What has been accomplished by the hospitals

[4] Strange as it may seem it is only within comparatively recent years that any attempt has been made to systematically teach psychiatry in the medical schools.

simply by substituting kindness for the cruelty of ignorance and the neglect and consequent brutality which was the outcome of fear I can illustrate no better than by a quotation from the Report of the State Board of Public Charities of Illinois for 1906.

"A famous patient, who died recently, was Rhoda Derry. This woman had been discovered by an inspector of a previous board of charities, locked in a room of the Adams County almshouse. For forty years she had been kept in a rough box bed, with about such toilet facilities as are provided for animals in captivity. She had scratched out her eyes. She was taken to Bartonville and carried in a basket up the hill to the asylum. She was placed in a white enamel bed in a room flooded with sunshine. She had expert medical and nursing service. She became a pet of the great institution. When she died the nurses cried. Such is the contrast of State with county care of the insane." [5]

The State Hospital has, at its best at least, long passed from the stage of dense ignorance with studied neglect instead of care as its offering to its unfortunate inmates. From this state of affairs it has passed by way of the philanthropic stage of development to standards of "no-restraint," kindness, comfortable housing and medical attendance. From this point in development the best hospitals are

[5] For an account of an actual, present existing state of affairs such as that which produced the results described in the case of Rhoda Derry read the article by Dr. T. W. Salmon, "The Insane in a County Poor Farm," in *Mental Hygiene*, January, 1917.

forging ahead on the path of scientific progress—the ideal of knowledge.

THE AGENCIES

The State Hospitals.—The agencies which are available for attacking the problem of mental disease in the community are first of all the large State Hospitals which are the natural centers in their several communities from which all good influences should have their origin. Something of the history of the development of these institutions and their present tendencies I have already indicated. Aside from taking care of and treating the cases sent to them they should be the natural places to turn to for all information of any sort on the subject of mental disease, and for assistance in all of the problems of the community into which this problem enters. They should be as much the centers of information and assistance along these lines as the old Gothic Cathedrals of Europe were the centers of the religious, business and social life of the districts in which they were located.

The Psychopathic Hospital.—The psychopathic hospital is the receiving hospital for mental cases in the larger cities. Here all mental cases are received and reclassified, some going to the State Hospital, some going home, some remaining a short time for treatment, etc. It is the clearing house for mental disease in the community.

Dispensary Service.—Out-patient service is begin-

ning to be established in connection with dispensaries as mental disease is coming to be dealt with by the medical profession outside of the asylum walls—extra-mural psychiatry. The out-patient service typically originates in the State Hospital and the Psychopathic Hospital and later branches out from neurological clinics in general dispensaries.

Social Service.—In connection with State Hospitals, Psychopathic hospitals and dispensaries, field workers put the medical officer in touch with outside living conditions and co-operate in helping the hospital to discharge patients more intelligently, and also in helping to readjust living conditions especially along the lines that had responsibility for the mental break.

After-care.—A further kind of social service calculated to assist the discharged patient to rehabilitate himself in the community.

Other Social Agencies.—Various social and charitable organizations both public and private are constantly running across the problem of mental disease. All sorts of distress, poverty and crime are complicated or more or less dependent upon this cause. It is, for example, the underlying factor in many of those mal-adjustments that find their way to the juvenile courts, the truancy officers, etc. The police are meeting it at every turn. It is essential that all these agencies—the social worker, the after-care worker, the juvenile court, the psychopathic hospital, the dispensary, the State hospital, the po-

lice—should all co-operate and so by preventing doubling on each other's tracks get the greatest efficiency with the least lost motion.

The National Committee.—The National Committee for Mental Hygiene with central offices in New York City, supported by private funds, is conducting a country-wide movement with branches in many States (eighteen at the present writing) for the better care of the insane. Its chief purposes are: "To work for the conservation of mental health; to promote the study of mental disorders and mental defects in all their forms and relations; to obtain and disseminate reliable data concerning them; to help raise the standards of care and treatment; to help co-ordinate existing agencies, Federal, State and local, and to organize in every State an affiliated Society for Mental Hygiene."[6]

THE MEANS

The means which must be employed working through all these various agencies must have three large ends in view—The getting at the individual patient and his problems; the getting at those problems in a broad enough way (his social environment) so as to be able to help him; and last but not least, the actual discovery of the patient in the first

[6] Those who are interested should, by all means, read "A Mind That Found Itself," by Clifford W. Beers and, with more especial reference to the National Committee, Part V of the revised fourth edition of that work giving an account of the origin and growth of the Mental Hygiene movement, which has recently been published as a separate.

instance and bringing him under such treatment (the treating of the mentally ill as such and not as criminals, paupers, prostitutes, etc.).

1. Individualization.—The transfer of the manifestly psychotic patients from the County farms to the State Hospitals as the result of the passage of State care acts and the rehabilitation of the State Hospitals did not by any means solve the whole question. It changed the absolute neglect of the County care system to the decent and kindly care of the State Hospital but often did little more than this. These institutions as soon as they began to receive patients from districts comprising several counties began to grow, and that growth continued and is still continuing. From institutions of perhaps three or four hundred patients they have grown to have three or four thousand—huge caravansaries, great boarding houses, but often that was all. Perhaps it is hardly fair to say that that was all. These hospitals had, on the whole, well qualified medical staffs who gave the patients good attention in the matter of their bodily ills, in fact so far as there was any attempt at formulation of the medical problem it was well expressed by *mens sana in corpore sano*. Astounding as it may seem to us today it never seemed to occur to any one to tackle the problem from the psychological side.

Under these circumstances it was but natural that the great hospitals should grow towards perfection of sanitary and hygienic equipment, should deal with bodily illness as it was the habit of the doctor to deal

with it, but as to the problems of the mind should deal with them en masse and purely from an expediency standpoint. Patients who were filthy were put together, patients who were noisy were put together, patients who could have parole were put together, etc., etc., and the matter rested there. This was the state of affairs that confronted the new scientific era in the care of the insane, while the advances in psychology which had meanwhile been made made it clear that the therapeutic approach to the psychoses must be exquisitely individual. The principle is plain; the psychotic patient is as much entitled to have his delusional system treated with detailed care and intelligence as is the general hospital patient entitled to have his broken leg treated in that way. This statement sounds axiomatic but if a patient has the idea that electricity is being "turned on" him or that he is being "doped" or he is suicidal, the question is, What are you going to do about it? The old answer was to treat any bodily ill that might be present and so get them in as good physical health as possible and watch them to see that they did no harm.

The reason for the failure in the past to deal even intelligently with the psychoses is quite evident as already indicated; in the psychosis the patient not only withdraws from reality but tends to build up an artificial, a phantasy world in which he can live. This phantasy world is not the world you and I live in and so the language and the acts of the patient appear strange to us, we cannot understand them.

It has been just as essential to learn the language of the psychoses as it is to learn the language of bodily disease, the meaning of being "doped" must be fathomed in order to do anything about it, just as the meaning of an albuminuria must be worked out if we are going to intelligently advise our patient. The language of the psychosis is symbolic just as is the language of internal medicine—a broken cardiac compensation is homologous to a delusional system.

Now in the nature of things every one cannot read or even learn to read this strange language, just as every one cannot become a great surgeon. The problem, however, narrows down, how to get the individual sized up, dealt with, treated in accordance with what is the real trouble with him.

This problem is being met in several ways; by larger staffs; by better equipped staffs as the medical colleges are beginning to teach psychiatry; by enlarging the medical staffs by the appointment of men who have little or no administrative work to do but occupy their whole time in scientific work (pathologist, histopathologist, serologist, psychologist, clinical director, scientific director, clinical psychiatrist, psychotherapist). The hospital population is thus gradually being broken up into smaller units so as to bring the individual problem of the patient ever closer to the surface.

Another healthy change is taking place, namely, a change in the attitude of psychology towards the problems. Academic psychology had little interest in the individual and less interest in what might be

troubling him. The fact that a man got into a quarrel with his wife over what appeared to be a trifling matter was none of its affair. Modern psychology, however, is beginning to see that such problems have importance and to dignify them with its attention because after all it is the multitude of little things that are happening all day every day that make up the life of the average person and not the unusual and occasional, if perhaps, more striking events. If psychology is ever to make a lasting contribution to the art of right living it must occupy itself with just such problems. And when we come to take up a discussion of their lives with our patients we will find that outwardly while they may have appeared commonplace, that within they were the host of a conflict that was tearing them asunder.

The original method of dealing with the insane, as I have already set forth, was born of ignorance, fear and superstition. The main effort of this period was to remove the insane person from the community, to segregate him in an asylum. Then followed the period of philanthropy in which kindness replaced cruelty and the insane person was regarded as being a sick person. Then began the scientific era in which the asylums were changed, in name at least, to hospitals, and the effort was made to deal with the mentally sick just as patients sick of bodily disease were dealt with in general hospitals. In this period the patient was treated in bed, his temperature, pulse and respiration were carefully taken and studied; special dietaries were prescribed, and effort

was made to search out any bodily ailment from which he was suffering. To this end pathological laboratories were established for the studying of the dead material and also, later, for studying the urine, blood, etc.—clinical pathology. And very important, training schools for nurses were established to help the physicians in their work. The recent movement in diversional occupation therapy has been along the same lines, and while very valuable and tending toward individualization has not attained it. These things were all necessary pre-conditions for the final scientific study of the illness as a mental illness rather than necessarily as a manifestation of bodily disease. All these changes were taking place slowly so that when psychology was ready to approach the problem in the way in which I have indicated the way was prepared for it.

2. The Social Setting.—In the old hospital there was a general recognition of the principle that one of the benefits of hospital segregation was that the patient was removed from the circumstances under which the psychosis developed. The new psychology is beginning dimly to recognize that the psychosis is originally a failure in the individual-society relation and as such demands a study, not only of the individual as such but of the relation. To this end social workers specially trained for this type of inquiry are beginning to develop. Sent out from the hospital they are able, from first hand investigation, to throw light upon the actual family and social setting in which the psychosis developed,

and often can materially assist in readjustments preparatory to discharge from the hospital.

This sort of social work has been of great use in examining into the social conditions of patients recently admitted; in helping to make readjustments for those just, or about to be, discharged; and in doing research work and following out special lines of inquiry.

3. Finding the Patient.—This even has to be done in the hospital itself for with the immense number of patients the individual patient tends to get lost in the shuffle unless something unusual attracts attention to him. So many patients are of the "shut in" type and naturally eliminate themselves by making no requests, accepting everything, being content with being overlooked, that in the hurry of pressing activities they succeed in getting side-tracked. Of course in a way this is what they want, but it is not really what they want either, and it becomes necessary to create some method of reaching such patients.

I believe that the hospital should have one or more psychotherapists against the day when every psychiatrist shall be trained in psychotherapy. Even with this equipment many patients will not be reached. I am trying now, by means of an intramural publication, a sort of newspaper, to create a more helpful spirit of co-operation between medical officer and patient with this end in view, among others, of getting the "shut in" patient on the back wards to come forward and ask for help.

Aside from this problem there is, of course, the very large problem of getting the mentally ill cared for as such, no matter where they may be. This necessitates their recognition and also the creation of agencies for their recognition and the ability of such agencies to carry their point. At present, in the ceaseless grind of our courts, hundreds of thousands of human beings are consigned to one or another sort of penal institution every year for no other reason than because they are mentally ill. This only serves to make the sick sicker, and from every point of view is a wasteful, senseless, unintelligent method of procedure that brings good to no one and harm to many. I will have more to say of this aspect of the question in later chapters, particularly the next. Fully fifty per cent., and probably more, of the so-called criminals are mentally ill, about fifty per cent. of the prostitutes who come within the purview of the criminal courts, and probably as large or a larger per cent. of juvenile offenders. Until it is learned to treat these persons for what they are and not for something else very little progress can be expected in solving the problems to which they give rise.

THE METHODS

It will thus be seen that the problem of mental disease is a large one and far-reaching. It is a problem which has never been adequately attacked from the standpoint of preventive medicine, and yet it is one which economically is of the greatest im-

portance, because no class of people in the community probably cost more in dollars and cents to care for than the so-called insane. As it is at present, however, mental disease goes largely unrecognized, not only so far as our public hospitals are concerned, but so far as a large number of the practitioners of medicine are concerned, and no effort is made to help incipient cases previous to a frank outcrop of symptoms, which makes their incarceration necessary. In fact, these people have no place to go, except in rare instances, where they may get intelligent advice, and so the problem is not recognized until it becomes self-evident, and by that same token until the period has passed when treatment might avail.

It should be clear to those who are accustomed to dealing with medical facts that the existence of mental disease should be recognized in a practical manner by admitting people for advice and treatment to the various institutions conducted by medical charity on the same basis as patients are admitted for treatment for other and, in many instances, much less important maladies. And when I say they should be admitted on the same basis as other patients, I mean that the various legal restrictions and disabilities from which they are now made to suffer before they can get anything like adequate treatment should be removed. As it stands today, the patient who falls down on the street and breaks his leg not only may receive prompt and skilful treatment in a general hospital

in the city for the asking, but he is almost taken there willy-nilly, so little is his disinclination to go considered as a possibility. The patient who is suffering, so to speak, from a broken mind, however, has no place to go. The general hospitals would not take him if they could, for they have no means to handle such cases and if they did they have no understanding of nor any interest in the problems involved, and there is nothing left for the patient to do but to seek admission through the tedious and humiliating process of the law, which brands him, in addition to his mental disability, with a legal disability before he is permitted to receive relief. What wonder is it that neither the patient nor the patient's relatives seek for the relief until it is too late? What wonder is it that they should draw back and hesitate to ask when their request is granted with such poor grace?

It is self-evident, therefore, that the mentally sick should be permitted the same rights of treatment for their several illnesses as the physically sick, that they should be accorded the same consideration, and that the hospitals of the various cities should be prepared to receive, care for, and intelligently treat them. The subject of mental medicine, however, is a distinct specialty, and it requires close application and study for years to master its principles, and therefore it is natural that a portion of the hospitals should be set aside for these cases, the wards to be in charge of specially trained psychiatrists just as separate portions of the hospital are set aside for

other purposes—medical, surgical, obstetrical, or what not, with their respective specially trained men in the problems involved. This means that somewhere in a city of any considerable size there should be wards specially designed and maintained for the receipt of patients suffering from mental disease. Such wards are usually called psychopathic wards, psychopathic clinics, or psychopathic hospitals. They may be organically connected with the general hospital; they may occupy an isolated position at some distance from the rest of the institution; they may be separate institutions altogether; or they may be constructed separately, but in association with the other buildings of a large general hospital.

Which of the several plans suggested above is the most desirable is almost always a matter which has to be considered on the merits of the local situation. Our American cities, with their rapid patchwork growth, often present problems that make any solution necessarily a compromise. The ideal arrangement, it would seem to me, is for the city to have a municipal hospital located not too near the heart of the city and not too far away to be accessible, but on ground sufficiently extensive, not only for the present purposes of the hospital, but for all reasonable future growth. The plans of such an institution should include a psychopathic ward.

The advantages of such an arrangement are manifold. In the first place, the patient goes primarily to the big municipal hospital; he goes to the medical ward if he has pneumonia, he goes to the surgical

ward if he has appendicitis, and he goes to the psychopathic ward if he has mental disease. He feels in this environment the influence of the hospital atmosphere, he is where he belongs, he is in an institution conducted for the care of sick people, and this feeling would be doubly strong if the municipality in its wisdom could be induced to withdraw the disabling legal preliminaries. Then, again, his relatives feel more at peace about him when he is here in this big hospital than they would if he were legally committed to an insane asylum. The municipality is, on the face of it, endeavouring to treat a sick man, and not simply to shut up a crazy one. It is the logical, the humane approach, and not the legal, disabling method of turning the back to a disagreeable problem and locking the door.

In addition to the advantages of an arrangement, as described above, for the patient and the patient's relatives, there are other advantages. In the first place, the mental cases throughout the big general hospitals can be taken where they belong, just as, for example, if a woman is brought into the medical ward vomiting, and examination shows that she is pregnant and that the vomiting is the result of her pregnancy, she may be transferred to the obstetrical ward, where she will receive the best care and treatment for the particular condition from which she is suffering; so the mental cases in a general hospital will go to the psychopathic pavilion, where they will receive the best care and treatment. In addition to that, the psychopathic ward, with its corps of trained

men, will be at the call of the other departments of the hospital. Every patient in the institution, in addition to the trained advice of physicians and surgeons in all the different departments of medicine, will have added to the list of men, on whom he can draw to help him in case he needs it, a psychiatrist.

This introduction of the psychiatrist into the general hospital is to my mind filled with the greatest possibilities for medicine. We have always met on the medical and surgical wards the neurasthenic and the hysteric, but how rare it has been through the years that most of us have lived to see such cases treated intelligently, not to say sympathetically or understandingly. But the hysteric and the neurasthenic and such other patent conditions are by no means the only ones in which the psychiatrist can be of inestimable service to the internist and the internist can be of inestimable service to the psychiatrist. There is literally a host of conditions that lie on the borderland between internal medicine and psychiatry. To mention one only, there is that immense group of fever deliria, of which every hospital has innumerable cases at all times. The fever deliria will, no doubt, some day, throw a great deal of light on the functions of the higher nervous centres, to say nothing of the possibilities on the organic side. In addition to this immense group of the fever deliria, there are hosts of other cases where internal medicine and psychiatry must needs meet, and the sooner the better. There are, to mention

only a few, the traumatic deliria and post-traumatic defect states of various sorts; the post-operative psychoses; psychoses from shock, loss of blood; the group that follow operations on the eye and long confinement in a dark room; that very large group of gastrointestinal cases that have close relationships with the neuroses, which are at present not understood, but which are possibly mediated through the endocrinous glands and the sympathetic nervous system. Then there is the group of pelvic diseases in women. No one who knows anything about the history of medicine in the past generation can doubt but that thousands of ovaries have been removed, not to mention more grave operations, when the disease was not in the pelvis at all, but was in the mind. Then there are the chronic organic nervous conditions, the hemiplegias, with the aphasias, apraxias, and organic deteriorations; and finally the large group of toxic psychoses, among which alcohol plays the greatest part. All of this immense class of cases constitute a proper field for the psychiatrist, and the psychiatrist and the internist working together is the ideal toward which the establishment of the psychopathic ward in a general hospital will lead.

Of the various classes of cases which have been briefly mentioned above, the alcoholic and drug cases should be under the immediate care of the psychiatrist, either in the psychopathic pavilion itself or in an adjoining pavilion under his supervision. The general problem of the alcoholic must necessarily

meet its solution in the psychiatrist's hands. It is true that the physical conditions are often most prominent and perhaps require the most intensive treatment. A neuritis of the phrenic nerve, for example, is of course not primarily a matter for the psychiatrist, but, taking the problem as a whole, it belongs in his domain. Patients that are admitted are admitted almost invariably because of some disturbances of conduct. They are either delirious, hallucinated, or deluded in an active way which leads to their arrest, or to apprehensiveness or complaint on the part of some one associated with them. In addition to this, many of them have actually committed some overt act, perhaps homicide, and it is important that when, under these circumstances, a patient is brought to the hospital he should, at the earliest possible moment, be placed under the observation of those who are trained to deal with mental questions in their legal bearings in connection with the administration of the criminal law.

In addition to all the above, and flowing naturally and inevitably from the conclusions reached, I believe that the general hospital should maintain an out-patient department for the advice and treatment of persons with mental disease. With such a machinery attached to the municipal hospital, there is no reason why all who are afflicted cannot as readily seek aid as those with bodily disease. The details of transfer from the psychopathic ward to the larger state institutions should be made as simple as possible. Transfer should be made effective on a cer-

tificate of two properly qualified physicians, and the matter should not have to come into court at all unless it is brought there by the patient, his relatives, or some friends on his behalf. I would not close the courts to the so-called insane by any means, but I would not insist on a legal process, whether the patient wanted it or not; I would not insist, so to speak, on cramming an alleged constitutional right down the patient's throat at the expense of his life. We see today this process of commitment going on where nobody wants it. The patient does not want it, the patient's friends and relatives do not want it, and anybody who stands and watches it proceed recognizes on the face of it that it is a farce. I would, therefore, proceed to the matter of commitment in the simplest way. Leave the courts accessible to the patient if he wants to appeal for relief, and it will be surprising how rare such appeals will be.

In the construction of the psychopathic ward arrangements should be made and equipment provided for all the scientific work which modern science demands in connection with the proper diagnosis and treatment of the cases that the psychopathic ward is called on to deal with, and so far as possible it would be best that additional opportunity should be provided in the way of laboratories, equipment, and fellowships for carrying on original research work. Whether this latter is or is not provided, it is highly desirable that the wards should be constructed with a view to teaching purposes. The material should

be made accessible to the medical schools, and it would be the part of wisdom to provide a capacious auditorium in which lectures might be delivered and where patients could be exhibited. Such material coming in from a big city, of all classes and descriptions, large numbers of acute cases, with access to all sorts of borderland conditions, makes an invaluable supply for the purposes of instruction, and if, in addition to the instruction of the medical student, the law student should have to come there and listen to the lectures on mental medicine, we might perhaps work through such an institution the greatest of miracles—a rational set of statutes, with rational methods of legal procedure, where cases of mental disease are under consideration. Such an institution, so equipped and manned, would also be the rational place for the courts to send prisoners awaiting trial, under sentence, or what not, in regard to whom the suspicion of mental disease had arisen. It is my belief that such institutions should take the place of the present method of procedure in criminal cases in which the claim of insanity is raised. Perhaps they should not altogether take their place, but they should practically take their place. In a specific instance in which the question of insanity is under consideration, the prisoner could be sent to the psychopathic ward, held there for observation for a sufficient length of time, and a careful, detailed, and scientific report made to the court upon his case, without any alterations in our present methods of

procedure or theory of practice. Such a report would necessarily carry tremendous weight in the decision of the case. I am not altogether in favour of making such a report a legal document in the sense that it would be controlling on the action of the court in any way, but let it go forward with its preponderant weight of authority, and I believe that in the large majority of cases it would carry everything before it.

Such a psychopathic ward as I have described above, adequately equipped and properly officered, with its organic connections with a municipal hospital, and perhaps also with a university or medical college, would be a tower of strength in the community. It would put mental medicine on a scientific basis; it would establish the hospital for the insane in the confidence of the community; it would open its doors to dealing with the mentally ill when they needed help and advice, and when treatment would be beneficial; it would assist the courts in the administration of justice, and it would assist the sick man in getting justice; it would bring mental medicine into closer, more harmonious, and more organic relationships with internal medicine to the mutual advantage of both; it would form a nucleus for scientific research work that could be indefinitely elaborated; and, finally, it could form a centre of social endeavour of great beneficence in the community. Not only might it be of value for the social worker, for the scientific eugenicist, but it would be

the natural centre from which would radiate all efforts at popular instruction in matters connected with mental disease.

All these suggestions are simply in the way of insisting that mental sickness should be given the same kind of consideration as other kinds of sickness. Of course this result cannot be brought about in a minute. It means, perhaps, more than anything else the education of the physician in mental medicine. Today a patient admitted to the hospital for typhoid fever, a broken leg or other so-called organic physical disorder is given all sorts of attention on the physical side. Both cases are treated, not only for what they have when they are received, but for what may develop while in the hospital. For example, the man with a broken leg may develop a pneumonia and is treated accordingly. With all their complicated armamentarium, however, the hospitals are not equipped to deal with departures from the normal in the mental sphere or even, for the most part, to recognize them. It is only when they are forced upon the attention of the attending physician by some very evident disorder of conduct such as the unconsciousness or delirium following a head injury, the violence of a pneumonia delirium, a post partum attempt at suicide that anything is done and then only that which is forced in order to take care of the practical situation. There is no adequate appreciation of either the part played by the mind in the causation of disease or of the im-

portance of mental factors in maintaining efficiency and in making happiness possible.

All of these questions involving mental health are beginning to be asked, and there is a decided movement in the direction of an adequate consideration of the mental factors of disease. We are at present, however, a long way from this goal. We already know that many conditions which are usually treated medically or surgically may have a very important mental cause, perhaps may be, at first at least, altogether mental in origin. For example, the mental factors of such diseases as exophthalmic goitre and diabetes mellitus have never been adequately analyzed nor have the mental factors in the various viceroptoses (prolapse of the various abdominal organs) although in all of these conditions they undoubtedly play a large, perhaps the largest part in some cases. We know too that certain diseases are voluntarily acquired as partly or completely unconscious attempts at suicide or as equally unconscious ways of doing penance for previous conduct conceived of as sinful. We have a fairly good realization of motives of self-interest, often unconscious, in illness the result of injury for which suit is pending and in illness for which recovery is possible under insurance or liability acts. All of these are matters of great importance as bearing upon the mental factors involved and also as bearing upon the larger individual-society relation.

Before any of the myriad problems of such types

will receive adequate attention it must be brought about that the average physician will take as much interest in, pay as much attention to, his patient's psyche as he does to a great many other, often far less important, matters. Of course I do not mean by this that every physician should be a psychiatrist but he should have had as much instruction about psychological types of reaction as he had about the other types of reaction. He should have had some instruction in the fundamental principles of human behaviour. Every physician, for example, is not equipped nor is he capable of making an examination of the heart according to present day standards, but he should know enough about heart disorders to know when to send his patient to a heart specialist. Similarly, every physician should know enough of conduct disorders to know when to call the psychiatrist. When there begins to be a general appreciation of the importance of the mental in medicine then we may begin to look forward to the day when there will be a general understanding of a mental as of a somatic sign or symptom. The heart specialist can read the various curved lines on a strip of paper that record the action of the different portions of the heart. These symbols, to those who have studied them, are full of meaning. Why should not the delusion, expressed by the symbols "I am being doped" yield just as much meaning to the specially trained psychiatrist.

In the meantime it is important that the hospitals for the care and treatment of the mentally ill should

come to realize, and that at an early date, that they are not only dealing with disorders at the psychological level but that the disturbances of adjustment at this level must be approached by a therapeutics which is aimed primarily at the psyche. Not that somatic disturbances should be neglected but that psychotherapeutics should be recognized as of paramount importance. The ideal here is that the patient with a psychosis should, when received in the hospital, have the same interest and attention paid to his mental symptoms as the physically ill patient has paid to his somatic symptoms in a general hospital, and that the same degree of intensive therapeutic effort should be addressed to his mental disease based upon these symptoms as is directed to the relief of physical illness based upon somatic symptoms. This requires, of course, a degree of individualization of the patients which with present equipment and with present knowledge is not possible, but it should be the goal towards which efforts were clearly and consistently directed.

Take for example the movement for occupation of patients. This has everything to commend it although I confess I do not altogether like the name it so frequently goes under of "diversional occupation." The effort should be, and really is, more serious than the qualification indicates. I should prefer that it be designated as occupational therapy. Such therapy should be primarily addressed to the individual needs of the patient, first to help him overcome his psychological difficulties (his psycho-

sis) and secondly, if possible, he should be given such work as he may use when discharged to help support himself—to re-establish his social relations. Such specific, individual treatment is not now often possible but it should be the aim.

The aim of the hospital should be, of course, to get the patient well and to turn him back into the community a useful citizen. In this however, the hospital must often fail. The capacity of many a patient is not equal to an independent social existence. For such patients the hospital must create an environment in which they *can* live and too at *their* maximum efficiency. Living at their maximum efficiency is not only best for them but it is best for society too, because they are, under such circumstances, of their maximum value to the herd.

These then are the two fundamental functions of the hospital. To get the patient well, or failing in that to create an environment for him that will permit him to live at his maximum efficiency.

SUMMARY

The insane are a group of socially inadequate persons who suffer from a great variety of mental disorders.

In order that the problem of the insane may be intelligently met it must be approached from the standpoint of mental pathology.

The standpoint of mental pathology demands that the psychological reactions be given as much con-

sideration as other reactions. This involves improved medical education.

Giving full value to mental disorders would mean that they would be recognized wherever they were and be treated as such.

The hospitals for mental disease need to recognize that these diseases require a psychotherapeutic approach and intensively individual treatment.

Various social agencies will find the mentally ill before they are so sick as to be at once recognized and sent to a hospital; other agencies will help the discharged patient re-establish and re-adjust where necessary his social relations.

The dispensary and practicing physicians will recognize and treat incipient disorders of adjustment at the psychological and social level and prevent many serious breakdowns that would otherwise require hospital treatment.

CHAPTER V

THE CRIMINAL

THE CONCEPT CRIMINAL

Before we can deal intelligently with the social group to which the term "criminal" has been applied we must first, as in the last chapter on the "insane," examine the concept and see what it includes.

Just as we have seen in the last chapter in considering the word "insane" so we see here that "criminal" can only mean one who has been pronounced by "due process of law" guilty of an offence which the law declares to be a crime. And a crime is a given form of conduct which, as defined, is specifically prohibited by statute. In other words, the law proceeds to say that the doing of such and such acts shall constitute a crime and then, if in the opinion of a jury, a given person has done one of these proscribed acts he thereby becomes a criminal.

We thus see that the concept "criminal" like the concept "insane" is a purely legal and sociological concept. To classify persons as criminals tells us absolutely nothing about them, it rather only tells us of society's attitude towards them. Take, for example, the more limited concept of "thief." One

man may steal under the influence of the prodromal stage of paresis although previously of high moral character; another man may steal under the excitement of a hypomanic attack; another as a result of moral delinquency; another as a result of high grade mental defect; another under the influence of alcoholic intoxication, and so on indefinitely. It must be perfectly evident from such an illustration that one should not expect anything in common among the members of such a group just because the outward act was such that a jury might conclude that it came within the statutory definition of larceny. As little expect all people who had fever to be otherwise alike, or all people engaged in the automobile business to present traits in common sufficient to constitute them a distinct anthropological group.

We can never learn much about mankind in its different aspects by studying such heterogeneous groups as the criminal is thus seen to be. The difficulty with all such methods of approach to scientific problems is that the approaches are not sufficiently controlled by dynamic concepts. A group of individuals, as in this case, is given a name, and forthwith the name becomes a thing, and the thing has clear-cut, rigid limitations, and is dealt with as such. Then the first thing we know some one is measuring up, by all sorts of both physical and mental standards, the members of the group, in this case all thieves, for instance, and as a result we are told just the characteristics of a thief, in the abstract, as if there were any such thing. Suppose the weight of

an elephant, a mouse, an eagle, a bat, a whale, a lake trout, and a lamprey eel are averaged. The result is a mathematical fact, but does not correspond to any living thing, bird, beast or fowl, on the earth, in the heavens above the earth, or in the waters beneath. What use is it? Perhaps by studying criminals individually we may come to sort out groups, but never by studying them that way, the way of the artificial groupings defined and created by the law. The criminal, after all, is only a person who has been found guilty, whose conduct has been passed upon by a jury, and who has thus come to be legally labelled. A fundamentally dynamic viewpoint of human beings should enable one to see them as biological units in the last analysis, but not any too clearly differentiated from their environment. They should be viewed as integral parts of the social organism and we need to study the interplay of action and reaction between what, at their focal points, we term the individual and the environment.[1]

THE NATURE OF CRIMINAL CONDUCT

I have said in the last chapter that the insane were a group of socially inadequate persons who were separated off from the community but upon whom the community looked with leniency and sympathy, and thought of them as suffering from mental disease and therefore as irresponsible. Now the criminal on the other hand, although he too, manifests

[1] See the author's "Individuality and Introversion," *The Psychoanalytic Review*, January, 1917.

a socially inadequate type of conduct, conduct which cannot be assimilated by the herd, and although he too, is separated off from the community, he is looked upon by that community quite differently. He is not considered leniently and with sympathy but harshly, in fact with hate, and he is held as responsible for his acts and accordingly punished for them, that is, is made to suffer pain. With both classes, therefore, the "insane" and the "criminal" we see we are dealing with socially inadequate conduct, and whether a given individual is called "insane" or "criminal" is the result, not so much of any particular quality or characteristic which he may possess, but is rather the result of the way in which the community comes to regard him, either with sympathy (love) or hate. In other words, insanity and criminality are not inherent in the individuals as such, but are rather projected upon them by the community, they are forms of herd critique. They are labels which society applies to individuals whose conduct comes within certain categories which society, by means of its law-making function, attempts to define.

Perhaps we can gain an inkling of how this state of affairs has come about if we examine somewhat the nature of sympathy and hate. Sympathy, of course, is a variant of love. It is that form of love for another which is possible because we can think and feel like that other, because we can, to use the popular phrase, put ourself in his place. We are able to see things as they see them because we can,

so to speak, look through their eyes. We feel with the other person, we respond to his situation with feelings of the same kind because we identify ourself with him and, therefore, in feeling for him we feel for ourself. That which is emphasized in sympathy, therefore, is the suffering or distress of the other person which we treat as if it were our own.

The feeling of hate uses a somewhat different mechanism. Hate and all such (antipathic) feelings are reactions of the individual against things which threaten him (Chap. III). Hate against certain kinds of acts is, therefore, not solely because they may be considered antisocial, for example, but because as antisocial they are also apprehended as acts which we ourselves might do, and therefore we have, so to speak, to array our most powerful emotional weapons against them in self defence. In the mechanism which is used by hate, therefore, the identification with the other person, while present, is by no means as obvious. The hate is directed more towards his *act* than towards himself. This is clearly seen in those acts of mob violence in which an individual is killed by a crowd of persons who have no knowledge or acquaintance with him, for the most part, but are wreaking vengeance upon him because of his act.

Why do we divide those who are asocial or antisocial in their behaviour into groups on the basis of sympathy and hate? A complete answer to this question would have to be an individual answer in each instance. The actor and the act would not only

have to be given consideration but the reactor, that is, the person who felt either sympathy or hate, as the case might be, for there are many situations in which some would feel one and others the other. In general, however, it may be said, as already intimated, that it is only those acts which come very close to what we ourselves wish to do that we need to hate.

This general conclusion is borne out by the facts. The thoroughly strange behaviour of the insane, it has been called unpsychological because it does not seem to be possible or accountable from anything we who are mentally well feel within ourselves, this form of behaviour which seems to stamp the sick person as living in a strange world quite different from the world we live in, is relatively seldom resented. Just because it is so far from seeming possible to us we do not have to react against. Because the insane person is afflicted with a disorder for which he seems to have no responsibility and, therefore, about which he can do nothing; because his disorder makes him suffer and ostracizes him from society and seems not to advantage him in any way; because of all these things we can have sympathy for him—feel for and with him. Most of us can read or talk about cannibalism without being emotionally disturbed just because it is so remote that we do not seem to be touched by it. On the contrary to come across some one we knew eating human flesh would produce a most profound emotional revulsion.

Now the criminal seems much more like ourselves

than the insane person. He seems to have acted with those faculties with which we are familiar in ourselves, and furthermore he has often done those things we might be tempted to do. He has acquired what he desired by the easy way, he has not worked, laboured, plodded for years, but has just taken it when it came within his grasp. Our disinclination to exertion, our desire to stay in the region of the known, the familiar, our dislike for the hard facts and sharp corners of reality, in short an instinctive laziness, makes us all feel that we would like to grasp success as easily. Even though we might know that real success could never come that way, still, if we had the opportunity few of us could resist it except for the fact that just these antipathic emotions come to our aid and we hate and despise the man who acts in that way and correspondingly exalt good deeds and good men. How close all such activities lie to our possibilities of action is seen on the one hand in the love of the child for tales of pirates and highwaymen and in the ease with which in war times all the social standards are swept aside and man yields to his predatory instincts. (Note the tales of inhumanity, rape, pillage, arson which come from fields of war.)

The conclusion is further supported by the fact that the tendency is constantly growing to get away from treating the insane like the criminal by court procedure and so forth, while if we examine into the method of criminal procedure we will note that, so far as possible, the individual as such is eliminated

and only the act given consideration. Thus the statute defines certain crimes by stating the act which constitutes them, and in the indictment the defendant is charged with doing certain things. *It is the crime and not the criminal that is given first consideration.*

We see this emphasized in several directions when we come to consider some of the results. A jury will bring in a verdict according to their feelings of sympathy or hate. It is a well known device of the defence to give the jury an excuse for declaring the prisoner "not guilty" if it is felt that they would wish to. An occasional excuse is that of "insanity." I have known trials in which there was never any question but that the defendant had done the act charged, in which a defence of insanity was entered and almost no evidence introduced to support it and that of the flimsiest kind. Nevertheless the jury found the defendant insane because, in my belief, they felt unconsciously they would have wanted to do just what he did, under like circumstances. Juries, too, sometimes bring in a compromise verdict which has no possible logical sense. For instance, a person is charged with murder in the first degree. He is clearly either guilty and should be hung under the law or he is insane and so innocent. The jury find a verdict of murder in the second degree. Such a verdict can only be explained as a compromise of sympathy and hate in the jury and in no other way. Such cases, and there are many of them, still further illustrate my conclusion.

If we examine further the methods of criminal procedure we will find further evidence of the same kind. As I have indicated, *the whole procedure tends to consider the act rather than the actor.* The medical expert, for example, is asked a hypothetical question in which a certain group of facts or alleged facts taken from the evidence are attached to a hypothetical individuality and his opinion is asked as to the sanity or responsibility of this hypothetical person. The theory is that only the jury can deal with the question of the sanity or responsibility of the defendant, that is a question of fact and the ultimate one for them to decide, but in reaching a decision the defendant as such is kept in the background as much as possible and the act, constituting the crime, is given the principal consideration. This, of course, tends to give the hate motivated activities free play because they are not directed to any person. The expert, for example, passes upon the sanity of a hypothetical individual in a presumably wholly judicial frame of mind and free from any consideration of humanity or sympathy which might make him hesitate if he were actually asked to do an act which would send a man to his death. The method of procedure is the method of indirection.

To sum up the whole matter, the jury listens to the evidence and then gives a verdict which is very apt to be much more controlled by their unconscious than by their clear consciousness, and the degree to which the unconscious controls is based upon the

closeness of the particular situation to the particular jury in their feelings and their necessity of defence from such a realization. Of course it is idle to expect any results from such a system which square with an at all exalted ideal of justice. It is only a bit of machinery for transmitting the herd critique.

That this is the mechanism is further illustrated by the way in which the result is explained. A given defendant is decided to be guilty because in the opinion of the jury he was responsible for the act with which he was charged. This concept of responsibility comes about as an explanation for the action which it is desired to take. It is not something, as ordinarily supposed, which exists in the criminal like a familiar spirit, but is something projected upon him by the herd, that is, by the herd in miniature, the jury. This is the mechanism of rationalization or the making of something to appear reasonable which really had its inception and motive in the unconscious, in the feelings and instincts rather than the reason and judgment.

The attempt to deal with acts and not the actors, to deal with crime rather than the criminal gives rise to that sort of maladjustment which always results from trying to press a living, moving, growing dynamic impulse into a rigid, static form, to press the problem of human life into a statutory definition. A general principle, such as that embodied in a statute, and intended to apply to all cases, by that same token, applies to none; what is made to include all cannot, of necessity, exactly fit any particular case;

the abstract proposition never quite describes the concrete case.

Human beings, individually and collectively, are always trying to get things settled, to express themselves in a final formulation about things, to compass a problem completely in a definition or a law, but reality always just escapes, they never can quite do it. They are doomed to find as a result of each effort only one more way in which it just cannot be done. To be able to fix reality in some final formulation would be to secure for all time certainty where now there is uncertainty, the known where now there is the unknown. It is the everlasting search for the fixed and the stable in a world which in its very essence is dynamic. It is our old friend again, *the instinct for the familiar—the safety motive.*

Trial and failure, however, are the very essence out of which progress is made. A given formulation solves one problem and opens up an hundred more, but then these hundred represent the new light that has been shed by the solution and the whole matter is attacked from a higher plane, a new level of integration has been attained. And so each formulation stimulates to new inquiries, which, when pretty well worked over give birth to another formulation to take the place of the last one, and so on.

The law can only embody those principles of conduct which are acceptable to the community and therefore cannot be materially at a higher point in the integration scale than that community. Nat-

urally, therefore, it must necessarily appear primitive and unjust to special students. The jury, as we have seen, representing society in miniature, brings in its verdict in accordance with its unconscious vibrating in harmony with the unconscious of the herd out of which grew the law. The integration has to be pushed upward from this level, therefore, and no effort which seeks to impose law upon a community otherwise can expect to succeed. Stability of government is grounded, in the last analysis, in the consent of the governed only both the forms and institutes of the government and the consent of the governed are much more products of the unconscious than is generally appreciated.

THE RESULTS

The results of treating men in accordance with the principles as I have explained them have been known by prison reformers for a long time. They can, of course, not be otherwise than destructive as are all lines of conduct which derive their strength from hate. The prison system is a means of punishment both negative and positive. It punishes in a negative way by taking out of life everything desirable and positively by enforcing all sorts of repressive measures. Repression is the order of the day. The prisoner cannot talk, he cannot turn his head at mealtime, he cannot go to his cell except at certain times nor leave it except at certain times, he cannot walk except in a certain way, and so forth and so on, a series of negations, of prohibitions.

Now, while such a scheme of living would take all the joy out of life for most any one it would also be impossible to endure by very many. It takes a fairly good character make-up to be able to stand a long period of such systematic repression with hardly an avenue open for wholesome self-expression in any direction. And when we remember that many who find their way to prison must necessarily, because they exhibit a socially inadequate adaptation, be of defective type of personality, we can still further understand how the prison régime serves to "break" the prisoner. The multitude of prison rules, not being formulated to help the prisoner but to keep a dangerous population safely subdued, operate to destroy both mind and body so that society, through its prison system, has been wreaking an awful revenge upon those who do not conform by ruining them mentally and physically, destroying them body and soul. Society tries to rid itself of its antisocial parasitic growths somewhat as the surgeon tries to remove a cancerous growth from the body. Except in the case of capital punishment, however, the method is less heroic and reminds us more of the old days of treating cancer with arsenic paste.[2]

This breaking of men by severity of punishment is a very costly operation. In the first place the

[2] The application of a corrosive paste containing arsenic which slowly burned the cancer away and incidentally any of the surrounding flesh with which it came in contact. Clumsy, inexact, painful, impossible of control, often ineffectual and injurious to surrounding healthy tissues.

history of punishment shows pretty clearly that severity of punishment, on the whole, has had little influence on the prevention of crime; to suppose that it has is to fail to understand at all the criminal's psychology, to see him as a social maladaptation acting upon impulse uncontrolled by reason, but rather to attribute to him the attitude and reasoning faculties of a normal individual free from emotional stress as he discusses in his study the relative advantages and disadvantages of a criminal career. It does not do the individual any good, quite the contrary it injures him in every way, and finally it does not do society any good because it insures the continued failure of the criminal after his discharge from prison with all that that means, not only in expense but in efficiency, rather than helping him to become a useful citizen. The hate which society expends upon the criminal is returned by the criminal in his hate for society—a mutually destructive process in which it is hard to see how any gain can be registered.

THE CRIMINAL AS SCAPEGOAT

If we gather together all of those things which I have indicated as explaining the nature of criminal conduct, and bear in mind the principle which has been set forth to explain the need and the value of the antipathic emotions, and look for a recognized principle of human conduct underlying it all, we will find it in the concept of the scapegoat.[3]

[3] The reader is, by all means, advised, in this connection, to read

The obvious principle embodied in the concept of the scapegoat was the principle that evil could be gotten rid of by transferring it to some object, animal, or even man and then by getting rid of them the evil, of course, went along. It is the principle otherwise known as the principle of vicarious suffering. As Frazer very well puts it, namely, that because he can shift a burden of wood or stones from his back to that of another the savage imagines that he can as easily shift his burden of pain and sorrow to another who will bear it in his stead. A few examples make the principle clear.[4] In some of the East Indian islands epilepsy is believed to be cured by striking the patient on the face with the leaves of certain trees and then throwing the leaves away. The disease, transferred to the leaves by this process, disappears with them. In certain of the tribes of Central Australia the men, when suffering from headache, would wear women's head rings in the belief that the pain would pass into the rings and could then be gotten rid of by throwing them into the bush. These are perfectly typical examples of this kind of conduct. To show in what a concrete way pain is conceived of the example of the Australian blacks' way of dealing with toothache is illuminating. A heated spear-thrower is held to the cheek and then cast away. The toothache goes with it in the shape of a black stone called

"The Scapegoat," which is Pt. VI of "The Golden Bough, A Study in Magic and Religion," by J. G. Frazer. Published by Macmillan & Co., London.

[4] All examples are from Frazer, l. c.

karriitch. Stones of this kind are found in old mounds and sand hills and are carefully collected and used to throw in the direction of enemies in order to give them the toothache.

In a precisely similar way evil is transferred to animals. Among the Malays if a wild bird flies into the house it is caught, smeared with oil, then released, a formula being recited in which it is bidden to fly away with all the ill-luck and misfortunes of the occupant. In Arabia, when the plague is raging, a camel is led through all the quarters of the town in order that it may take the pestilence on itself. The camel is then killed. After an illness a Bechuana king seated himself upon an ox. The native doctor poured water over the king which ran down over his body. The ox was then killed by holding his head in a vessel of water until it expired. The people believed that the ox died of the king's disease which had been thus transferred to it.

The transfer may be effected to human scapegoats in similar manner. For example, the sins of the Rajah of Manipur and his wife could be transferred to some one else, usually a criminal, who earned his pardon by his vicarious sufferings. This was done by the royal couple bathing on a scaffold beneath which the criminal crouched. The water washed their sins away and falling upon the human scapegoat transferred their sins to him. In Uganda when the king had been warned by the gods that evil attached to his army it was customary to pick out a woman slave from among the captives, a cow,

a goat, a fowl, and a dog. Bunches of grass were rubbed over the people and cattle to collect the evil and transfer it to the victims who were then taken a considerable distance and their limbs broken, so they could not crawl back to Uganda, and left to die.

From using a scapegoat upon occasions and for such purposes as I have indicated it comes to be resorted to periodically, usually annually. Such periodic use of a scapegoat also implies that the scapegoat is a public one, that is, at certain seasons of the year the people rid themselves of their sins by a public scapegoat. On the Day of Atonement the Jewish high-priest laid his hands on the head of a goat, confessed all the iniquities of the Children of Israel, and having thus transferred their sins to the animal, drove it into the wilderness. At Onitsha, on the Niger, two human beings are annually purchased by public subscription and sacrificed to take away the sins of the land. All those who during the year had been grossly sinful were expected to contribute, and the money so collected was used to purchase two sickly persons who were offered as sacrifices, one for the land and one for the river.

This last example is interesting as showing the tendency to select people who had to die anyway (in this case of disease) for sacrificial victims. It therefore is not strange to find a tendency, probably going along with a developing lack of sympathy with human sacrifices, to sacrifice those al-

ready condemned to death or convicted of crime as being those with whom there would be little or no sympathy. So in the case of the Rajah of Manipur it was a criminal who was selected to bear his sins. Similarly the Rhodians annually sacrificed a criminal to Cronus. They kept him in prison until the festival of Cronia when they led him outside the gates, made him drunk and cut his throat. This custom appears too to have been substituted for an earlier sacrifice of an innocent victim. A criminal was also sacrificed at Babylon at the festival of the Sacaea.

The principle which runs through all these customs is clear and seems to be a universal characteristic of man. Man is always trying to get rid of what makes him unhappy and if this is sin, that is, is wrong in the sense of the mores [5] (the ethical standards of the herd), he tries also to escape responsibility for it. In punishing the criminal, therefore, he is not trying, primarily, to get rid of sin in the abstract, that is a rationalization of his conduct, he is trying to get rid of that sin which he feels is resident within himself. The criminal then becomes a handy object upon which he can transfer his sin and thus by punishing the criminal he deludes himself into a feeling of righteous indignation, thus bolstering up his own self-respect and serving, in this roundabout way, to both restrain himself

[5] W. G. Sumner: "Folkways, A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals." Ginn & Co., Boston, 1907.

from like indulgences and to keep himself upon the straight and narrow path.

This is the material out of which is made our unconscious attitude toward crime and criminals and is an explanation of why society has been so loathe to admit reforms in dealing with the criminal, and also why it has been willing to permit the grievous abuses to which he has been subjected.

THE REMEDY

To treat the criminal by the scheme of punishment that has been in vogue so long, which, in fact, is in principle the principle of the Mosaic law "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth" can no longer be justified. While at one time in the history of mankind such methods were not only justifiable but embodied the only possible solution of the difficulties, that can no longer be held in this scientific day and age. It is time that the spirit of revenge should be put aside for a more constructive program than has thus far been made possible by the more and more impersonal attitude of the criminal fostered by the methods of criminal procedure already, in part, alluded to. Not only does the law consider the crime rather than the criminal, but in the carrying out of retributive acts the individual has handed over the conduct of his personal quarrels to a special group of men selected for that particular purpose. He has delegated, so to speak, the wreaking of his personal revenges to the officers of the law.

Realizing the meaning of these various mechan-

isms we can understand somewhat why the criminal law is so slow to change. Mankind gives up with great reluctance the small measure of revenge which this scheme leaves to them, and perhaps it may be just as well if we can find some other way to attack the problem in an at all satisfactory way. This has already been done by taking up the problem from an angle bound to appeal to the sympathy of every one, namely, in connection with the work of the juvenile courts. The next avenue of approach is of course the criminal himself after conviction. After-care societies that attempted to get the discharged criminal a place and so help him to re-establish himself have existed for a long time. The destructive work of the prison, however, was so well done that they have obtained but indifferent success. The work must begin earlier.

To be of real value, then, the work must be begun in prison. Society will have used the prisoner as its scapegoat, condemned him to punishment, and having shut him up in prison is pretty willing to forget a disagreeable matter and so leave him to those who are charged with his care. It is with these caretakers, therefore, that the immediate hope for the work of prison reform rests. So long as they conduct their work in a way not to stir up antagonism they will probably be permitted to go on with it. The principles of the work are relatively simple.

The defect in the criminal is that, for some reason or other, he has been unable to adjust his conduct

to socially acceptable standards. This incapacity may be deeply organic (severe grades of mental defect) and therefore incapable of remedy, or it may be, and often is, due to faults of environment and education. One could hardly expect a child brought up in the criminal quarter of a large city and surrounded on all sides by crime, perhaps taught criminal practices in his early childhood, to grow into anything but a criminal. Such a child is reacting in precisely the same way as his more fortunately situated brothers—he is simulating his elders. Many such criminals are fundamentally well endowed but owing to the accident of their birth, so to speak, have never really had a chance. They have remained at a relatively low cultural level of development because their immediate environment never demanded anything more of them. They were adjusted to the environment in which they found themselves. Such an individual, when imprisoned, offers the best material to work with and a fair prospect of good results.

For such a type the unintelligent and revengeful attitude of the usual prison environment can do nothing but further debase not only mentally but physically. Instinctive tendencies, fundamental biological trends when not permitted a normal and natural outlet must find some other path and so necessarily give origin to conduct that is pathological. Such conduct, still further repressed by the prison authorities, aggravates the pathological tendencies and, as a consequence, the not at all

surprising result is all too frequent, a psychosis. Taken from a pathological environment in the first instance he is thrust into a far more pathological one and as a result is expected to get well, that is, learn better, go out upon his discharge resolved to lead a normal life. The good people who devised the system of solitary confinement, for so long in operation in Pennsylvania, thought solitude conducive to reflection and that the prisoner, left to his own thoughts, would dwell upon his sinfulness and so come into a state of righteousness. To effect this the prisoner was locked in his single cell and never during the term of his imprisonment, no matter how many years, saw or spoke to a single human being except his gaoler or perhaps the chaplain. If he was to be moved to another part of the prison a cap was drawn over his head and face so he could see no one. The results of such treatment may be imagined. Man is a social animal, psychological reactions are made up in large part of reactions at the social level, he cannot be torn from his associates and placed in solitude and continue to live normally mentally or any other way. These prisoners, in large numbers, developed psychoses and I have been informed, if discharged after a long time, could be seen after stepping through the door to wander aimlessly and helplessly about the prison wall quite unable to face the outside world of reality, crushed, broken in spirit, in mind, and in body. Such horrid things are hardly less harmful to those who inflict them than to those who suffer them. Society can

no longer afford to crush its creatures in this way.

Instead of thrusting the offender into a pathological environment, worse than the one he was taken from, the environment should be calculated to develop all that is best in the prisoner. The object of the prison is nominally, and should be so in fact, to rehabilitate the prisoner and fit him for a useful social life. If it is going to be able to make over an antisocial individual into a useful citizen it must undertake to do so by attempting to develop those qualities in him which make for good citizenship. It goes without saying that a program of repression that is only repression will not only not do this but is wholly incapable of developing anything that is constructive, it only drives the prisoner to pathological ways of expression. The direction in which to proceed is to endeavour to produce conditions within the prison as nearly as possible like those outside more especially as to the matter of personal responsibility. In other words, the prison must try to develop in the prisoner those qualities of personal and social responsibility which are necessary for him to have if he is to be able to live a useful life in the community.

This effort to develop the capacity for adequate social adjustments in the prison, is the basic principle upon which the Mutual Welfare League was founded by Mr. Osborne [6] at Sing Sing prison. His experiment corrected the fault of previous efforts of

[6] T. M. Osborne: "Society and Prisons." Yale University Press, New York, 1916.

like kind in which the same sort of experiment had been carried out in form but not in substance. In order to accomplish its purpose, he thinks, the prisoners must actually be permitted to establish their own scheme of government and to carry it out with practically no interference from the warden's office. Only under these circumstances, where authority and responsibility are commensurate, can there be borne home to the soul of the prisoner those distinctions between right and wrong upon which the orderly conduct of society is founded.

It was Socrates who said that knowledge was virtue, and I think Mr. Osborne would agree with him in such a statement, except that it is plain that it makes a great deal of difference what is meant by knowledge. The lecturing of a convicted criminal by the judge who exhibits anger and resentment and hate in his denunciation of the poor wretch whom he is about to sentence to prison may convince the prisoner intellectually or may only reiterate what he already knows. The beatings, the deprivations of food, the dark cell may do the same thing in prison, but knowledge acquired in such ways, if indeed it can be called knowledge at all, is of no value. Knowledge is virtue but it is only virtue when we have learned to know in the same way that we love. To know as one loves is not only to appreciate intellectually, but to feel the fundamental truth in a way that makes it essential to act upon it.

The lecturing of a prisoner by the presiding judge

is a part of just one item in the almost universal unintelligence which the great man-hunting machinery of the criminal law exhibits. It is as if a person had become ill from a long course of wrong living, extending over years, and the doctor should dismiss him with a prescription for a pill and say not a word about the regulation of his life. The criminal act which finally leads to a prison sentence is but the outcome of a life of distorted viewpoints, of standards of conduct turned and twisted out of all resemblance to those with which the normal person is familiar in his daily living, and to expect that the natural product of such conditions can be metamorphosed by a three minute sermon displays a profound ignorance of human beings. A prisoner so lectured will probably leave the court room to start upon the serving of his sentence, not in a humble frame of mind resolved to make out of his misfortune an opportunity for development, he does not know anything about such things, he has never thought such thoughts, never been able to, never developed enough to entertain them. He is, however, accustomed to hate and act from the spirit of revenge and so he will probably react to such a lecture in about the only way he knows how to react—with hate and enmity. He will leave the court in hate and start his sentence in hate, and it will remain for the prison to undo this damage and teach him that knowledge is virtue, not by precept or even by example, but by giving him an opportunity to

live so that the experiences of his living will bear this truth in to him.

The concrete, specific ways in which this is attempted are few and simple in principle. In the first place he must be sufficiently educated to give him a chance. A man, nowadays, who can neither read nor write is so handicapped that he is almost forced to steal to live so poor are the returns from plain, unskilled labour. Secondly he must be taught some kind of work that he can do, not only in prison, but work that will fit him for earning a good living after his discharge. Of course, meantime he should have a chance to keep physically well or if he is not well to get well. It seems obvious, without further discussion, that to keep a prisoner in unsanitary and unhygienic surroundings and thus break his health is a poor investment for the State aside from any consideration for the prisoner himself. And finally he should be given an opportunity at that sort of self government which makes for the development of personal responsibility.

A considerable proportion of the prison population are, however, not normal in their developmental possibilities. Upwards of fifty per cent. as they are admitted have demonstrable disease at the central nervous system level. That is, they are mentally defective, psychotic, or have gross central nervous system disease such as arteriosclerosis or syphilis. This does not include bodily diseases other than that of the central nervous system.

Quite a few prisoners on admission are physically ill. Acute venereal infections and tuberculosis are considerably in evidence. The prison should sort out all these various classes immediately upon admission and treat them accordingly and not, as has been the custom in the past, try to fit them all into the same form, treat them all just alike. Those who are physically sick need treatment. On the medical side the principle is the same as with the insane and the feeble minded, namely to train the individual to live at his best at the level of adjustment which he is capable of maintaining. Such a constructive program develops the best that is in the individual and is equally advantageous for society because it raises the efficiency of a social unit.

The details of such a plan as I have outlined I will not enter into here as I am only dealing, in this book, with the principles of mental hygiene. I cannot refrain, however, from touching upon one matter that strikes me as important and as indicating a pathway which might be followed to great advantage. One of the principal difficulties which has always confronted the problem of prison labour and prison-made materials has been the opposition of the labour unions. I do not know just how this antagonism is going to work out but I am convinced that it will ultimately be adjusted to the satisfaction of labour when labour sees that co-operation and not antagonism is to its advantage. I am convinced that, with modern machinery and shop meth-

ods of management, the prisons could be made largely self-supporting with material reduction in the tax rates as a consequence. Besides I am sure that the able bodied prisoners could manufacture and raise on farms a very large part of the material needed by the sick and infirm in other public institutions and in many other public projects could find ample room for activity when the public mind gets adjusted. For example, the prisoners might make material for the army and navy, a suggestion which might not be well received as yet, for I recently saw that prison made goods had been rejected by an army officer because the soldiers might have some sentiment against wearing it. If the soldiers appreciated that the making of what they wore had helped save a fellow being from destruction I am sure they would not object.

Not only this but the scheme of teaching prisoners to work efficiently at some trade and then utilizing the products of their work is a scheme which could, to advantage, be applied to a large part of the relatively unproductive and destructive elements in the community. It is applied here and there but the administrative divisions of State government are usually not sufficiently well co-ordinated to devolop such a scheme to its maximum of efficiency.

With our modern methods it would be a relatively simple thing to devise and to construct a plant, a series of plants, which could turn out a pair of shoes for every individual in the United States but the social organization has never been developed suffi-

ciently so that it would be possible to find a way to get those shoes on the feet that needed them. As a result thousands of people need shoes while the wealth of the community as a whole is ample to provide them. If the unproductive, defective, very often physically sick individuals could be organized into productive units it would be of inestimable benefit both to them and to the community, for they would cease to be just burdens but would develop more or less proficiency in each instance, so that from representing a zero value as an asset their value would rise in many instances to an hundred per cent. as based on capacity for self-support as represented in earning capacity, or some fraction of that.

With the establishment of a sympathetic attitude on the part of the public to prison reform along the lines I have indicated, helped along by the work of the juvenile courts and the psychological investigation of juveniles and the psychological laboratories for studying criminals, such as that recently established in New York City, it may be possible to go further and do something about the method of criminal procedure and also something to modify the machinery of the courts, district attorneys' office, police departments, etc.

Among the changes which are needed are adequate courses in the law schools to properly equip the graduate to attack the various social problems centred about crime in a manner commensurate with present-day knowledge. In many schools little or

no effort is made to do this. The schools teach the law as it is and as it has been interpreted with little effort to point out its usefulness in the social scheme of things or its relations to other disciplines. This is partly due to and partly the cause of the lack of interest ordinarily taken in criminal law. The average law student appreciates that there is no career and no money for the man who makes a specialty of criminal law. There are no public positions of importance except those in the District Attorney's office, and in private practice it is a hopeless specialty because the criminal never has any money. The law student appreciates from the start that civil practice offers the only prospect of success upon anything more than a mediocre scale. Even the post of District Attorney itself is usually filled from considerations of political expediency rather than of personal fitness.

It would seem from a consideration of the principles and the facts that the lines along which development must proceed were fairly clear. A course in the psychology of evidence has been a part of the law school curriculum in a number of European universities for some years, and while it has also found its way to the United States, for the most part it still goes unrecognized in our American colleges. It might to advantage, I think, form part of a course on human behaviour which could be given alike to the medical and the law students. The law students might also, to advantage, and this is also done in Munich at least, attend the clinics in psychiatry.

This would give the lawyer some first-hand information, scientifically presented, of what mental disease really is and help him to understand the doctor's viewpoint. As it is today the attorney and the medical expert talk different languages and many difficulties which surround the whole question of expert evidence are due to this lack of the two professions to comprehend each other. Anything that will help to bring about a mutual understanding will be helpful for, as I have already intimated, reforms in law can only come about after reforms in practice. This principle I shall discuss more fully in a later chapter, but it seems quite clear that this is the course that events must take. I have already illustrated how and why juries often bring in verdicts which disregard the law altogether. Such verdicts are, as a rule, I think, advances over the literal interpretation of the law and are forced by public opinion when it has advanced beyond the period in which the law was enacted. The law might be said to always follow, never to lead, the practice.

In addition to courses in the psychology of evidence, human behaviour, and psychiatry there should also be a course in sociology with special emphasis on criminology. This last might perhaps be a post-graduate course for those who were going to specialize in criminal law.

All of these advances will probably only come about contemporaneously with an improvement in the status of the District Attorney and such other public officers as might be needed in dealing with

the problem of crime.[7] The District Attorney should receive his appointment solely upon a fitness basis based upon his special knowledge of the problem he is to undertake. I should say the position should have a Civil Service status to insure permanency of tenure, during good behaviour and efficient conduct of the office, as far as possible. Such a change as this is sorely needed, for the position nowadays is not only a political one but because of that fact is used by the occupant as an opportunity to exploit himself in such a manner as will be to his greatest personal interest when he comes to enter private practice. In this way the office becomes primarily a means of personal gain rather than of public service.

I think also, and this I recognize is a long ways off, that the District Attorney should spend one year to eighteen months as an interne in one or more penal institutions before taking office, and I would consider it highly desirable to extend this requirement to the judge sitting in criminal court. I do not see how it is possible, by any other method, for these officials to have any adequate idea of the nature of the human material which they are called upon to deal with. This principle has always been appreciated by the physician and I do not see why it should not be extended to the lawyers. As it is today the judge who is to sit in the criminal court is chosen, not because of any special qualifications for that particular service, but usually because he is

[7] For example a public defender.

the junior member of the bench. The work is considered least agreeable and therefore is relegated to the new appointee.

Perhaps after all these things are done it will be possible to secure some changes in procedure. I will mention only two. To the ordinary man, confronted with the rules of evidence in a criminal procedure, it seems as if the rules were especially constructed to rule out every single matter which the average man, left to his own devices, would consider of importance and would utilize. For example: A man has stolen a loaf of bread. Evidence that he was starving, that his family were starving, that he had tried and been unable to obtain work, etc., all such evidence is on principle ruled out, and yet it must be perfectly evident that no understanding of the situation whatever can be gained without it. I know that I am treading upon debatable ground and that a lawyer could present a good case to the contrary, but I believe that this lawyer's good case must soon go the way of all good things that have served their purpose—it must be superseded by something better. It is all very well for society to close its eyes in seeming complacency to the social problem such a case presents and refuse to see it by ruling out the evidence, but some day it will be just as pertinent to ask—why is it that this man is starving amongst you?—as it is today to ask the questions which are admissible.

As we have seen, the fundamental defect of the

criminal law, from the point of view of the changes which I advocate, is that it deals with the crime and not with the criminal. For example: A boy snatches a pocketbook without knowing what its contents are. If the book contained less than thirty-five dollars he could only be imprisoned for a period not to exceed one year, while if it contained more than thirty-five dollars he might be imprisoned for as much as ten years, but not less than one year. This despite the fact that in the first instance the thief might be an old offender, a seasoned criminal, a chronic menace to the peace of the community, while in the latter case the offence might be the first committed by a person readily amenable to reform. In any case, the character of the crime as thus set forth in this example is purely arbitrary, and the thief could only be considered constructively to have intended it.

The effort to arbitrarily distinguish crimes as petit larceny and grand larceny, as in the example given above, for instance, will always lead to an arbitrary, and in a not inconsiderable degree, unjust administration of justice. Whether a particular individual ever comes within the purview of the criminal law is largely a matter of accident and depends to no small extent upon the ingenuity of the offender. Now, while the object of the criminal law is, or should be, the protection of society, the important question to be solved is not whether the offender stole thirty-four or thirty-six dollars,

and is therefore to be indicted for petit or grand larceny respectively, but, What manner of man is he?

In order to answer this question it is necessary to make an analysis of the individual, and the causes leading up to his offence. Only after this is done can a reasonable conclusion be reached as to whether the offender is best treated as a menace to society and put in prison, whether he is a proper subject for reformatory efforts, or whether he might better be paroled with a suspended sentence.

We, as physicians, do not always prescribe the same drug in the same dose for a given disease, no matter in whom it may occur, vigorous youth or decrepit old man. We treat the patient, not the disease, and so in criminology we will never make any further progress under the system of dealing with the crime in the abstract, we must learn to treat the criminal.

In order to divorce criminal procedure from the practice of dealing with the crime instead of the criminal, the assistance of experts in mental disorders and in criminology must be sought, and I believe it is the duty of the State to furnish this assistance, so that it may discharge its responsibilities both to society and the criminal intelligently. This assistance can hardly be expected from the jury or from the overworked court; it must come from a special body of men whose business it is to furnish it.

These preliminary considerations lead logically and, I think inevitably, to the conclusion that the function of the jury should end with establishing the fact that an offence has been committed by the accused. This fact being established should give the State authority over the person of the offender, and he should be taken into custody, dealt with according to the sort of person he is, and not turned back into the community until he may be with safety, and such action should be as little as possible de pendent upon the degree of crime as now defined.

Given then an individual, the jury determines that he has in fact committed an antisocial act. He is then remanded to a court or committee or whatever else it may be advisable to call it, who make a full report to the trial judge upon the character of the offender with recommendations for treatment, such recommendations, so that the amenities may be preserved, to be advisory and not controlling. On the basis of this report the judge pronounces sentence.

Reduced to its simplest terms the whole situation is just this: An individual commits an antisocial act. By so doing the State assumes control of his person and liberty. It does this primarily because it has a right to protect itself from his depredations. Having done so and protected itself, however, it has a further duty both to the individual and to the community. It must endeavour to restore the offender to useful citizenship if that is possible. In other words, it must prescribe a form

of treatment suitable to his ailment. In order to do this his case must be diagnosticated. All this is clearly the duty of the State.

Society has too long dealt with crime, either from the standpoint of revenge—the principle of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," is the principle upon which our criminal code is built and which controls much of its application even today—or from the standpoint of a disagreeable affair with which the easiest way is the best, and so it locks up the culprit, turns its back upon him, and tries to forget all about it.

The time has passed for either one of these attitudes. Revenge may be sweet, but it is usually a pretty expensive indulgence. Crime is a social phenomenon and demands attention if for no other than economic reasons. It is distinctly an unwise policy that continues a system which actually makes criminals. What else can be expected when a young boy for his first offence is ruthlessly shut up in prison to associate exclusively for months with a collection of the worst and most incorrigible offenders? It is a distinct duty, pointed to by actual dollars and cents economy, to keep men out of prison, or if they get in to restore them to independence at the earliest possible date. These results will never take place until we learn to deal with the criminal and not the crime.

This would seem to be the rational method for the State to pursue. How can it best be accomplished?

If insanity is the defence the defendant should be sent to the nearest State hospital for the insane. Surely if a person is insane the place for him is in an institution for the insane and not in a jail. Not only this, but only under the close observation possible in a hospital can the best results as to the diagnosis of the condition be expected.

This method of procedure I believe would be a good one, even if the conclusions of the State hospital authorities were not considered final, but merely introduced in evidence to be combatted like other evidence. Under such circumstances they would easily have a preponderating influence as coming from an entirely unbiased quarter.

This sending of the patient to a State hospital for a report on his condition may be delayed until the jury has returned a verdict if thought best to preserve the rights of the accused. Sentence will be passed, or from our viewpoint, a line of treatment prescribed, only after a diagnosis has been reached.

In order that the State hospitals may be able to meet this class of problems, I believe each one should have specially constructed quarters, or, better, a special group for the observation, care, and treatment of this class of cases. A special detached group would probably be warranted in all the larger State hospitals, for in this group would naturally be cared for, in addition to the "court cases," the several vicious characters of the insane population, of which each institution always has a number.

This grouping of the noncriminal with the criminal insane may be objected to by some. It is, however, an entirely reasonable procedure when it is considered that we are dealing with the individual in each instance and not the isolated result of some one of his acts. Whether a given person comes within the purview of the criminal law or not is often purely a matter of accident. The point to be considered solely is the character of the person he is, and if he has manifest criminal and vicious tendencies he should be separated from the general population of the hospital and cared for with his like.

These are lines along which, in my opinion, we may look for betterment of present conditions. There are already plenty of well recognized principles of criminology which have yet to be adopted in many communities. A parole system and the indeterminate sentence are among the most important. The principles underlying these, however, are pretty generally accepted and for the most part they are being adopted as fast as circumstances admit, that is, as rapidly as the general enlightenment in the several communities call for such measures. They do not, therefore, require to be argued in this connection.

SUMMARY

The distinction between conduct which is regarded as insane and conduct which is regarded as criminal is based upon the herd critique and "insane" and

"criminal" are in fact projected opinions of the herd.

The herd critique results in an attitude of leniency toward conduct which is "insane" because it is regarded as unpsychological, that is, so strange or grotesque that it is not considered a possible means of expression and therefore must be the result of illness. Criminal conduct on the other hand does not create the impression of being unpsychological, strange, or grotesque but, on the contrary, is considered a possible means of expression and therefore, as this realization has to be repressed, fought off, hate is brought to the task and criminal conduct is not considered leniently but as a form of behaviour which calls for punishment.

The law, by considering the crime rather than the criminal, tends to the perpetuation of this method of expression.

Change in the law and the methods of criminal procedure are difficult in proportion to the difficulty of giving up this method of expression by the herd. Society tends to hang on to this way by means of which it can continue to give expression to its hate. The criminal, therefore, becomes the scapegoat for the herd.

Reform had thus best start in some other part of the system. Prison reform is suggested because society will have had its fling at the criminal and forgotten him and then something may be done for him.

Not to rehabilitate the criminal, when possible, is

economically and otherwise a disastrous policy not only for the individual but for the herd when the results are considered in terms of efficiency.

The principle upon which the rehabilitation of the prisoner must proceed is that he should be prepared, while in confinement, to exercise those functions that he will have to exercise when he is discharged if he is to make a good citizen. He can only be so prepared by being given an opportunity to use those faculties.

After a plan has been worked out for the rehabilitation of the prisoner, and that plan has proven successful in practice, then perhaps it will be possible to approach the problem of criminal procedure with some assurance of being able to do something.

The change in criminal procedure should be a change from a consideration of the act to a consideration of the prisoner as a human individual and as an integral part of society. He should thus be dealt with in a way that will best serve both, with, of course, adherence to the principle that when their two interests cross the interests of the individual must give way to the interests of society.

CHAPTER VI

THE FEEBLE-MINDED

Of a considerable number of terms which might have been employed to designate the group I shall discuss in this chapter I have chosen feeble-minded as perhaps indicating more accurately than any other the idea I wished to convey. The term, however, is, and must be a compromise because there has not grown up, as in the case if the insane, and the criminal, a social concept and a method of procedure for labelling.

In general, the group which I shall call feeble-minded includes those individuals who are mentally deficient—that is inadequate at the social and the psychological levels of reaction—and whose defect is due rather to an arrest of development than to a destructive process in later life.

This definition is of course very crude and is only meant to apply in the broadest general way. The group is quite as heterogeneous as either of the others already considered, and before proceeding with the discussion it is absolutely necessary to gain some idea of what sort of individuals it contains.

In the first place, the concept of arrest of development is not a simple one. The arrest may be due to inherent defect in the germ plasm itself, and so

be hereditary in the true sense; or it may be due to injury to the brain the result of disease before birth, and so be congenital but not hereditary; or it may be due to injury operating upon the brain during the early years of development. All sorts of injuries may produce such results. Physical injuries at birth and infections either pre-natal or during infancy are prominent causes, while entirely extraneous factors such as an inherited deaf-mutism may result in feeble-mindedness if this serious deprivation is not corrected by special educational efforts. Similarly high degrees of myopia (short sightedness), adenoids (which interfere with breathing), and a multitude of other causes may operate. However, this is not the place for a discussion of the pathology of feeble-mindedness. I only wished to give some slight idea of the extreme multiplicity of the factors which enter into its production.

From this brief indication of the variety of causes which may operate to produce feeble-mindedness it will be apparent that we are not dealing with a unitary concept in any sense. When we survey the social problems into which feeble-mindedness projects itself as an important factor this is further emphasized. These problems include, not only those of the idiot, imbecile, and feeble-minded as ordinarily understood and as found in institutions, but the problems of the juvenile delinquent, the criminal and the prostitute. Of these two latter classes recent surveys would seem to indicate that conservatively fifty per cent. could be included in the feeble-

minded group by ordinary methods of examination which would be generally acceptable. In addition to these groups there are the backward and atypical children—for the most part at present problems of our school system—and a percentage, no one knows how large, of the vagabond, unemployed and pauper classes. Add to these a considerable number of those otherwise classed as epileptics and some idea of the complexity of the problem and its wide ramifications can be gained.

Age.—In order to express feeble-mindedness in a concrete way, a way that would indicate the degree of feeble-mindedness present in any particular case, a standard was sought in the relative age of the individual. Age, as ordinarily understood, means the length of time a person has lived since his birth. Thus a child of ten years of age has completed ten years since birth but not eleven. That time is a very inaccurate measure of age has long been recognized and in medicine is well expressed by the saying that "a man is as old as his arteries." Age, therefore, means rather the amount of development which has been attained or, as in the matter of the arteries, the degree of wear and tear manifest.

That people develop unequally is a commonplace so we can speak of their age in terms of their development rather than in terms of years lived since birth which, to differentiate it from these other ways of designating age, may be called the *chronological age*. From the point of view of the development age may be considered as showing in struc-

ture or in function as compared with what is conceived of as normal. In this way the individual may be classed as having a certain *anatomical age* if his development as shown structurally corresponds roughly to the normal development at a like period, and, in the same way, from the standpoint of function he may be classed as having a certain *physiological age*. The particular functions, however, which are of special importance in the consideration of feeble-mindedness are the psychological or mental functions, so it becomes desirable to designate, if possible, the *mental* or *psychological age* of the individual for purposes of classifying his degree of feeble-mindedness.

The most ambitious attempt to determine the psychological age has been by the use of the so-called Binet-Simon measuring scale of intelligence which is admittedly useful only for the first twelve years. This test has been modified, more particularly by Goddard, and other tests have been devised by many workers. There are, for example, the De Sanctis tests and more recently the Yerkes point scale, while tests for special purposes have been devised by Healy, Whipple, Fernald and a host of others. In short, the literature of mental testing has grown to enormous proportions.

The questions naturally arise—What is the net value of all these tests? Do they serve to classify the individual in an at all accurate way as to the degree of mental development? These questions may be answered briefly. In the first place the vari-

ous series of tests are useful in skilful hands. That is, in the hands of people who know a great deal about human beings, and therefore, by that same token, need the tests least, they have a value. The converse is naturally true. In the hands of those without such knowledge they are of little or no value and perhaps may be actually a dangerous tool.

As to the second question—Do they serve to give accurate information as to the psychological age? Of course it is possible to classfy individuals on the basis of these tests and by giving each one a definite psychological age compare them to the development of the normal. Unfortunately that is about all that can be done. Here, as we have seen all along, the individual must be considered as a whole and not simply just one particular set of reactions. If a group of defectives were gathered together, all of the same psychological age by some scheme of tests, it would be found that they had little or nothing else in common except their capacity to react similarly to the tests. Of course this must mean that the tests are altogether inadequate, which is the fact. The capacity for psychological reaction is too complex a matter to be crowded together into the answers to a couple of dozen questions. This is particularly so when we recall that the tests were especially devised to measure the intelligence. Now that we have come to some understanding of the importance which the emotional plays in life this limitation is alone enough to explain their failure.

But enough. This is not the place to discuss the

value of mental tests. I merely wanted again to emphasize the extreme heterogeneity of the group feeble-minded, to show how impossible it is of definition, to indicate it as a dynamic concept like those other large groups I have already considered.

It was David Starr Jordan who said "A good citizen is one who can take care of himself and has something left over for the common welfare." Perhaps if we keep this statement in mind and think of the feeble-minded as being inherently unable to care for themselves, except under the most favourable circumstances, and as, therefore, having nothing left over for the common welfare, we will come as near as possible to a correct attitude towards the group although, of course, we should find that even as loose a designation as this would often have to be stretched to fit a particular case and not infrequently would not fit even then.

Feeble-mindedness, even from the standpoint of an intelligence measuring scale, is a relative affair when expressed in the behaviour of an individual, and conduct which would be considered normal under certain conditions might well be open to inquiry, as possibly defective, under others.

With respect to this defect the main feature is that it is organically conditioned, for every inadequate adjustment may be thought of as due to a defect and every one as having a capacity for adjustment at some level. The feeble-minded, however, have an organically conditioned defect which renders forever impossible an adequate adjustment

to the social requirements. Still we must think of these requirements always, not as a fixed quantity, but as representing a relationship variable within wide limits. So again it is the relation, individual-society, which is the important thing and feeble-mindedness is a concept which includes certain organically defective individuals who can not develop this relationship to the point of being able to care for themselves.

On the other hand we must not think of the feeble-minded as being necessarily simply children. Some of them quite truly are, but for the most part they present features which do not square with any one period of development as already intimated in discussing age. In the first place the defect is not usually a horizontal one, so to speak, involving the whole individual at a certain level. The defect quite usually is more pronounced in certain respects than in others. For example, the emotional defect is much more pronounced than the intellectual in many high grade defectives. Then again the development of the sexual organs to the possibility of adult functioning with the corresponding growth of the sex craving in individuals still infantile in many respects presents a grotesque disharmony quite unlike any normal period of development. Further than this, and very fundamental, is the fact that, children though they may be when viewed from the standpoint of their development, they are rarely permitted to lead the life of a child but on the contrary are forced, as a rule through economic necessity, to

take up the adult problems of self maintenance. This brings us back again to the fundamental issue of the society-individual relation in which we find the individual with infantile characters attempting the problems of adulthood. The resulting picture is, as might be expected, neither that of a normal child nor of a normal adult.

THE CONCEPT FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS

Thus far we have come to certain conclusions, by considering what is meant by age, as to what sort of individuals might be included under the broad designation of feeble-minded, namely, those who, because of an inherent defect, inherited or acquired, have never developed and are unable to develop to a degree of socially efficient conduct sufficient for self-support. Even from this viewpoint, crudely outlined as it is, we have had the extreme heterogeneity of the group forced upon our attention. When, however, we come to consider the question from the point of view of therapeutics we see still further evidences of complexity.

As soon as we begin to look at the various problems from this angle we will see that the problem of feeble-mindedness and many other social problems intradigitate, as it were, and the resulting problems are not necessarily problems of feeble-mindedness at all. For example, not a few defectives are such because of the effects of congenital syphilis upon the central nervous system. The social problem of such a syphilitic imbecile is not primarily the prob-

lem of imbecility at all but rather the much larger problem of syphilis of which imbecility, in this particular case, is only incidental. Syphilis may produce all sorts of disorders but in this case the most evident result happens to be imbecility so that, although the patient has naturally to be treated for what he is, the real social question is the larger one of syphilis. Similarly in the matter of head injuries sustained during birth. Such injuries may produce an arrest of development and so imbecility, but the larger question is the way to handle the mechanical problems of delivery. Again—in the South many children are defective just because they have not the energy sufficient to enable them to give attention and to learn. The problem again is incidental to a larger one, namely that of uncinariasis (hook worm infection) which produces these results as a consequence of its effect upon the general health. A similar situation arises as the result of adenoids with resulting serious interference with respiration. Causes which are distinctly more psychological are those defects in the sense organs, eye and ear, which make it impossible for the child to adequately perceive the environment and therefore adequately react to it.

In the case of syphilitic defect the problem is a social one of wide ramifications—venereal prophylaxis; in the case of the injury at birth the problem is an obstetrical one: in the hook worm infection the problem is one of sanitation applied to a large area with all of its infinite complexities: in the case of

the adenoids the problem is surgical: and in the case of the defective sense organs it is in the first instance a problem for the specialist (ophthalmologist or aurist), and finally a problem for the educator.

Many other examples could of course be given, particularly examples of sordid and unhygienic environment with perhaps alcoholic habits at a tender age, deprivation, toxemia, and vicious influences, all of which only add emphasis to the heterogeneity and the complexity of the concept and the problem of feeble-mindedness.

Heredity.—The questions involved in the concept of heredity have in recent years been given a large measure of attention based very largely upon the rebirth of the Mendelian law and its application to solving the problems of heredity in the whole biological field including the human species. Feeble-mindedness has come in for its share of attention from this field of science and heredity has come to figure as its cause par excellence.

Briefly stated the theory of heredity is as follows: There are, separated off from the body as a whole (the soma), the sex cells, made up of what is known as the germ plasm. When two such cells from opposite sexes unite (fertilization) the mixed germ plasm resulting, containing as it does germ plasm stock from both phylums (the stock of both partners) contains the potentialities for the development of a new individual.

The germ plasm is supposed to contain minute

material particles which are the hereditary carriers of the several qualities of the new individual, the so-called determiners and these determiners, during the stages of cell division by which the material for the new individual is sorted out, are divided up according to mathematical ratios which give, in each instance, a certain mathematically expressible degree of probability that the new individual will or will not have a certain quality possessed by one or other of the parents.

The various hereditary ratios have been worked out with considerable accuracy in experimental work done with many plants and animals and the attempt has been made to carry over the conclusions reached to explain the phenomena of heredity in man.

These theories of heredity have largely controlled thought with regard to the practical approach to the solution of the feeble-minded problem despite the fact, which I have already pointed out, that in a considerable number of cases the feeble-mindedness is only incidental and but a minor part of an entirely different problem. The upshot of the whole matter is that feeble-mindedness has been held, for the most part at least, to indict the germ plasm and therefore the conclusion has been reached that the only practical attack upon the question must be an attack upon bad strains of germ plasm wherever found. The essential fallacy of this position I shall discuss later when I come in the next section to a consideration of the eugenic solution for the problem.

THE EUGENIC SOLUTION

The solution for the problem of the feeble-minded offered by the eugenicist is, as suggested, an attack upon the germ plasm. His suggestion is to bring the particular strain of germ plasm which has been condemned to an end either by segregating its host during the period of sexual potency or by some form of surgical procedure which will cut off the germ plasm from the possibility of finding its complement for reproduction (castration or vasectomy and salpingectomy).

This solution would be ideal if it could be determined that a certain strain of germ plasm was so bad that no good could come out of it. But such a determination is, to my mind, clearly impossible. By the very terms of the theory the determiners which carry the qualities of the offspring to be are segregated according to mathematical ratios, therefore just because a person may be no good in one particular that by no means implies that that specific form of no-goodness will necessarily be transmitted to any or all descendants. All we can be sure of, accepting the theory, is that as a result of diseased germ plasm a certain proportion of the progeny will be diseased but just which ones they will be *can not be predicted.* These laws of heredity are useful to explain *what has happened* but of almost no value in predicting *what will happen* as the result of a particular human fertilization. Of course it can be understood how these laws are useful to fruit raisers, for example, who can tell just what proportion of a

given type of result is to be expected in, say ten thousand, plants but that is a very different thing from predicting what is going to take place in a single, specific instance.

Then again, in order to have any adequate basis at all for prediction, it is necessary to know the qualities of germ plasm which enter into the union from both stocks. In other words, no prediction at all can be made with respect to the progeny of a given individual unless we have an equal amount of knowledge of his mate. As such knowledge, in the nature of the case, is not usually forthcoming prediction is out of the question. Those who favour sterilization do so with respect to the quality of the individual germ plasm yet in accordance with the theory there should be a mathematically determinable complementary germ plasm which would give a proportion of healthy individuals.

Further than this, we are by no means sure just what qualities may be represented in the germ plasm by determiners, and even though we are clear in a given instance the results are still further complicated by the phenomena of dominance and recessiveness; that is, under certain circumstances when two determiners clash one asserts itself (the dominant) over the other (the recessive). Under certain circumstances, therefore, a trait that may be inherited will assert itself (dominance) while under others it will not, it is dormant (recessive).

Aside from all these difficulties the eugenicists have attempted to deal with the question of feeble-

mindedness as a unitary concept. As a result of this they formulated a law some time since that the union of two feeble-minded persons could produce only feeble-minded progeny. Soon afterwards, however, there were found exceptions to this law and the explanation was that if one parent possessed certain qualities, a. b. c. but lacked d. which lack produced the feeble-mindedness in this particular instance, and the other parent possessed certain qualities, a. b. d. but lacked c. which produced the feeble-mindedness in this instance, then obviously the child might possess all four qualities a. b. c. d. deriving the quality c. from the first parents and the quality d. from the second.

It is unnecessary to further contend against the idea that insanity, criminality, or feeble-mindedness are unitary concepts. This whole book is an argument against the possibility of maintaining any such position. To talk about insanity, crime, and feeble-mindedness as if they were unit characters which could be transmitted in toto is to fail utterly to grasp the meaning of these phenomena in the social organism, and is assuming a position which is absolutely indefensible and untenable. Everything I have said about these three groups contradicts it.

That the error of such practice is a real error and not merely a theoretical one is easily demonstrated. To note but a few instances taken from Walter:[1]

[1] H. E. Walter: "Genetics, An Introduction to the Study of Heredity." New York, The Macmillan Co., 1913.

"The list of weakling babies, for instance, who were apparently physically unfit and hardly worth raising upon first judgment, but who afterwards became powerful factors in the world's progress, is a notable one and includes the names of Calvin, Newton, Heine, Voltaire, Herbert Spencer and Robert Louis Stevenson.

"Or take another example. Elizabeth Tuttle, the grandmother of Jonathan Edwards is described as 'a woman of great beauty, of tall and commanding appearance, striking carriage, of strong will, extreme intellectual vigour,' but with an extraordinary deficiency in moral sense. She was divorced from her husband 'on the ground of adultery and other immoralities. . . . The evil trait was in the blood, for one of her sisters murdered her own son, and a brother murdered his own sister.' That Jonathan Edwards owed his remarkable qualities largely to his grandmother is shown by the fact that Richard Edwards, the grandfather, married again after his divorce, but none of their numerous progeny 'rose above mediocrity, and their descendants gained no abiding reputation.' As shown by subsequent events, it would have been a great eugenic mistake to have deprived the world of Elizabeth Tuttle's germ plasm, although it would have been easy to find judges to condemn her." [2]

[2] The descendants of Jonathan Edwards are described by Winship as follows: "1394 of his descendants were identified in 1900, of whom 295 were college graduates; 13 presidents of our greatest colleges, besides many principals of other important educational institutions; 60 physicians, many of whom were eminent; 100 and more

In the old Puritan days there would probably have been a pretty complete unanimity of opinion that a girl who smoked cigarettes or danced, or a boy who chopped wood on Sundays, or a man who had doubts as to the literal truth of the Bible were all sure of eternal punishment in Hell and that they pretty well deserved it. Today, however, while we might personally agree or disagree, approve or disapprove of these several persons we would hardly feel warranted in cutting off their germ plasm from the world although in the old days, if such a course of procedure had been suggested, I feel sure it would have found many hearty sponsors.

The reader should be prepared by this time, if he has followed the thought which runs through the book up to this point, to realize that what is right or wrong, what is good or bad is very much what we *think* to be right and wrong, good and bad, so that

clergymen, missionaries, or theological professors; 75 were officers in the army and navy; 60 were prominent authors and writers, by whom 135 books of merit were written and published and 18 important periodicals edited; 33 American States and several foreign countries and 92 American cities and many foreign cities have profited by the beneficient influence of their eminent activity; 100 and more were lawyers, of whom one was our most eminent professor of law; 30 were judges; 80 held public office, of whom one was vice-president of the United States; 3 were United States senators; several were governors, Members of Congress, framers of state constitutions, mayors of cities, and ministers to foreign courts; one was president of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company; 15 railroads, many banks, insurance companies, and large industrial enterprises have been indebted to their management. Almost if not every department of social progress and of public weal has felt the impulse of this healthy, long-lived family. It is not known that any one of them was ever convicted of crime."

such a reaction as an advocacy of castration is not of necessity free from the criticism that it seeks to castrate those individuals with whom it finds itself in disagreement. "Agree with me on certain points of morals or be castrated" is the formula, a formula which if expressed in terms of religious dissension at the time of the Inquisition is not at all exaggerated.

But social habits, usages, customs—the mores—change. What was right yesterday is wrong tomorrow and what was wrong yesterday is right today. Who is wise enough to decide? Looked at from the point of view of energy values Elizabeth Tuttle was an enormous dynamic force as her progeny well proved. Perhaps her powers were ill directed. Is that a good reason for destroying them? Would it not be better to try at least to direct them into better channels? That, at least, is what her descendants did. We should aim at similar results, taking our cue from Nature.

Aside from all this I think it is fair to presume that a great deal of the drudgery of the world is done by persons who, according to any accepted standard of mental measurement, would be classified as feeble-minded. The enormity of the whole project comes plainly in view when we learn that in order to carry out the work to the highest efficiency which will result in the most rabid elimination of the unfit and consequent regeneration of the race, that ten per cent. of the population would have to be sterilized, that is, in this country ten millions of people.

All this sort of thinking is just so much evidence of

that tendency, already referred to, of attempting to crowd life into dead forms, of trying to think of something moving, dynamic, in terms of something dead, static. Individual, environment are not mutually exclusive. Man is only a bit of the life of the world, and unless he is seen as such and his reactions viewed from that standpoint no adequate program of dealing with his reactions can be worked out. We will see this more clearly in the next section.

Sterilization Legislation.—The advocates of laws which shall provide for the sterilization of certain classes of defectives are labouring under a peculiar delusion of the nature and function of law already hinted at in the chapter on the criminal in the section dealing with criminal procedure. The whole question of the place of law in dealing with the larger question of mental defect needs to be better understood, and because of the emphasis which has been recently laid upon the need for sterilization laws perhaps this is as good a place as any to consider it.

I have already intimated that law, as such, was not a means through which to effect reforms by stating the general proposition that practice had to precede formal enactment into statute. In fact it would seem that the first step in the administration of justice has always been the appointment of a judge and this before the existence of formal, written law.[3] Statutory law is by no manner of means a body of

[3] James C. Carter: "The Ideal and the Actual in the Law," annual address at the thirteenth annual meeting of the American Bar Association, 1890.

commands imposed upon society *from without* but the crystallized expression in written form of what was already nascent in the social consciousness, what had already grown *from within* and was waiting to be born, to be embodied in concrete form. Unless, therefore, the written law expresses the desires of the people it can be nothing else than a dead letter on the statute books. The Honourable Henry E. Davis [4] has expressed the general principle that government is based upon the consent of the governed so far as the law is concerned by defining law as "That body of rules for the regulation of human conduct which is enforced by the State, embodying so much of the attribute of justice as each particular society of men is able to comprehend and willing to apply in human affairs."

This meaning of the law, namely, that it must be read out of society, not into it, has been most admirably expressed by the Honourable James C. Carter [5] and I can do no better than to quote from his address already referred to.

"In early Rome, and in every other instance of which we have authentic information, we find that the first step in the administration of justice has been to elect a judge. The creation of judges everywhere antedates the existence of formal law. But though formal law does not at first exist, the law itself exists, or there would be no occasion to appoint a judge to administer it. The social standard of justice

[4] Of the District of Columbia Bar.

[5] Loc. cit.

exists in the habits, customs and thoughts of the people, and all that is needed in order to apply it to the simple affairs of such a period is the selection of a person for a judge who best comprehends those habits, customs and thoughts. . . .

"Moreover, the only means open to us of certainly knowing the law, namely, a resort to the judge, is available only in the case of an alleged violation; and what sort of a command is that which must be violated, or alleged to have been violated, before it can be known? But, if law be not a command, but the mere jural form of the habits, usages and thoughts of a people, the maxim that all are presumed to know it does not express a false assumption, but a manifest truth. . . .

"The office of the judge is not to make it, but to find it, and, when it is found, to affix to it his official mark by which it becomes more certainly known and authenticated. The office of the legislator . . . is somewhat, but not fundamentally, different. . . .

"These are that law is not a body of commands imposed upon society from without, either by an individual sovereign or superior, or by a sovereign body constituted by representatives of society itself. It exists at all times as one of the elements of society springing directly from habit and custom. . . .

"The statute law is the fruit of the conscious exercise of the power of society, while the unwritten and customary law is the product of its unconscious effort. The former is indeed to a certain extent a creative work; but, as we have already seen, the

condition of its efficacy is that it must limit itself to the office of aiding and supplementing the unconscious development of unwritten law. . . .

"It might be thought that, inasmuch as it is the sole office of the judicial tribunals to *find* existing customs and not to make any, they could not effect improvements, which is a creative function. . . .

"The judge, the lawyer, the jurist of whatever name, continually occupied in the work of examining transactions and determining the customs to which they belong, and whether to those which society cherishes and favours, or to those which it condemns, is constantly employed in the contemplation of what is fit, useful, convenient, right—or, to use the true word, *just*. . . .

"As custom is the true origin of law, the legislature cannot, ex vi termini, absolutely create it. This is the unconscious work of society. But the passage of a law commanding things which have no foundation in existing custom would be only an endeavour to create custom, and would necessarily be futile. . . .

"The function of the legislator is supplementory to that of the judge. It is to catch the new and growing, but imperfect, customs which society is forming in its unconscious effort to repress evils and improve its condition—customs of the existence of which the judges are uncertain and at variance, or which are so different from former precedent that they cannot declare them without inconsistency—and to give to these formal shape and ratification. . . .

"A custom begins to grow, and becomes more and more general, to make to them some remuneration. It is not universal. The judge cannot, consistently with his prior declarations, recognize it; but the unconscious forces of society are struggling for it, and the final legislative sanction is impatiently awaited.

"In legislation, therefore, the rule should be never to act unless there is an end to be gained for which legislative action alone is competent; and when such action is initiated, it should seek to recognize and express the customs which society is aiming to make uniform."

From all this the futility of legislation which provides for the sterilization of defectives is manifest.[6] Law, as I have said, is only capable of giving effective expression to what is already nascent in the herd. Law is not an avenue through which to effect reforms but a means of fixing, crystallizing the results of reforms already effected in the social consciousness and merely awaiting the sanction of legislative recognition and enactment.

THE MENACE OF FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS

It is the habit in certain quarters to paint alarmist pictures of the menace of the feeble-minded, more especially by emphasizing their greater productivity than the normal and the further fact that they are being cared for by society and kept alive and so the means of their elimination are prevented from pro-

[6] The sterilization laws which have been put upon the statutes in some of the states are practically inoperative.

ducing their natural consequences. Whereas I do not want to minimize any real danger, still I am sure that the menace has been greatly overdrawn.

In the first place, even under the most favourable conditions, the viability of the feeble-minded as a class is below that of the normal so that this fact has to be set over against any increased productiveness that they may show. Their capacity for life is below par not only as a direct consequence of their defective physical make-up of which their feeble-mindedness is one expression and which makes them relatively non-resistant to disease, but also because of their defective intelligence which makes them incapable of adequately dealing with sickness when they or their friends or relatives are affected. A neglected pain in the abdomen may be due to an acute appendicitis which causes death but which was not brought to the attention of the surgeon early enough because of the defective intelligence of the patient, who did not know how to complain or of his family who did not know what to do if he did complain.

It is the same with the care of the children. The feeble-minded mother takes care of her baby much as a child (to use Dr. Salmon's apt illustration) looks after its doll. She is quite as apt to forget about it and leave it outdoors somewhere in inclement weather with disastrous results.

These are the natural ways in which feeble-mindedness tends to eliminate itself and which many eugenists think are being negatived by present

methods of public care. Of course they are not being negatived to any great extent as yet because only comparatively few of the feeble-minded are being publicly cared for, but the principle remains the same and it is largely because of these reasons that these eugenists are so insistent upon sterilization.

The more rapid multiplication of the relatively inferior seems to be a law of nature. The lower down in the scale of life we go the greater the capacity for reproduction because the adaptability is less and the mortality correspondingly greater. This being so it would look as if there were some ground for the eugenists' fears that natural means of elimination are being set at naught by public care. There is a certain truth in this, but if the eugenists are right there will soon be no one but feeble-minded to populate the earth, and in fact it would seem that the mathematical necessities based upon their fertility would have eliminated all others long before this.

The fallacy here seems to be fundamental, namely, a failure to see feeble-mindedness as a relative matter and the act of caring for the weaker as a part of social activity as a whole, which here as elsewhere all along the line of development, has assured the survival and the dominance of those best equipped. The attitude of the eugenists is too simplistic. It fails to appreciate the enormous complexity of society and considers that a single factor in that complexity, namely, the fertility of the feeble-minded, can be considered alone and that its results may be considered as coming about naturally in a

society in which everything else remains stationary.

It behooves us, therefore, and this is very important, not only here but as we shall see later in connection with other problems, to try and search out the natural ways in which the race tries to defend itself from the deterioration incident to feeble-mindedness. In the first place the natural resistance can not be made normal by care nor can all of the danger be eliminated which is dependent upon the mental defect. More important than this, however, is the fact brought out recently by Dr. Walter E. Fernald,[7] namely, that fifty per cent. of the feeble-minded children which had been discharged from his institution did not marry and did not have children. As soon as this fact is stated the reason for it is at once apparent. The feeble-minded are suffering from a serious biological defect, and one of the most common signs of such serious defect is an incapacity for meeting normal biological demands in the matter of mating. We see this defect constantly and can understand how it must be apparent in an exaggerated degree among the feeble-minded.

I am reminded in this connection of the views expressed by a gentleman, also engaged in the care of the feeble-minded, but who takes a stand at the opposite extreme. He says, for example, apropos of the danger of the feeble-minded, that there is no danger from the feeble-minded, the danger arises from the unkind and unintelligent things that people do to the feeble-minded. One of the real reasons

[7] Of Waltham, Mass.

why many feeble-minded persons cannot get along in the community is because they are not let alone. As a class they are childlike, tractable, give their confidence and affection easily and if properly and kindly handled many would get along all right. The feeble-minded boy, however, is not let alone. He is teased into a state of constant irritability and finally in an excess of rage, when he is no longer able to control himself, he turns about and strikes the cause of his sufferings dead. Then the community says there is a problem. This, of course, is but one of those artificial problems which I have already mentioned and which should not, all at least, be laid at the door of the feeble-minded. Not infrequently the productivity of the feeble-minded is as much an artificial problem in the same way. The feeble-minded girl is not infrequently but the passive victim either of the unscrupulous seducer or the adolescent youth who knows no better. Here again the fault should not all be laid against the feeble-minded.

I feel very much toward the question of sterilization as I do toward the proposition to chloroform all the insane and criminals. The dependents are the burdens which the efficient have to bear and become efficient in bearing. The pain and the suffering they cause have "forward ends" which make for a better and more humane society. Chloroform might be a solution but I, for one, would not like to live in a society which adopted it.

There will always be a long way between the man at the top of the ladder and the man at the foot, and

the man at the foot will relatively speaking be feeble-minded. We need not expect to eliminate the problem but we must be satisfied if by great effort we can shorten that distance just a little.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE ABOUT IT?

In making for a remedy for the problem of feeble-mindedness we must of course keep always in mind the complexity of the concept and never make the mistake of dealing with it as if it were unitary. As we have seen that the factors which produce feeble-mindedness are many so must the remedies be. The remedy for adenoids is surgical; for sensory defect following the eruptive fevers is sanitation; for defective eyesight appropriate glasses; for vicious surroundings with no opportunities improved environment and education, etc., etc. There remains a large number who are defective because of serious defect of structure, either developmental (hereditary) or acquired (disease, injury). How shall this large group, of which there are probably some three or four hundred thousand in the United States, not in institutions, be dealt with?

In the first place I have already unequivocally opposed sterilization as a solution of the problem because I believe it to be unscientific, unwarranted by our present knowledge, and inhuman, this latter having perhaps a more serious effect upon the society which sanctions it than upon the defective who has to submit, although as yet we do not know the extent of damage which such operations may

produce. I believe it greater than generally supposed. Certainly we do not yet fully know the possibilities for harm at the psychological level of reaction of destroying for an individual all possibility of their ever fulfilling their biological goal.

Institution care of course suggests itself and has been and is being pushed forward largely as a solution. Undoubtedly many cases should be segregated in proper institutions. Just how many or what proportion we do not know, but certainly all those who are, in a broad sense, actively dangerous to the social welfare. Such cases, for example, as show dangerous criminal tendencies, particularly those with tendencies to commit crimes against the person (sex offenders), those which are distributors of venereal infection (prostitutes), and those which, because so defective they cannot maintain a semblance of social efficiency, live in such squalor, filth and depravity as not only tends to degrade the neighbourhood but makes of them dangerous foci of infection which threaten the health and the lives of the community. These should be the first to be prepared for by institution care.

A great many of the feeble-minded besides those described will be able to live outside of an institution. In fact, not a little of the simple sort of work, the drudgery of life, is done by individuals who, by any accepted standard of measurement would undoubtedly fall within the feeble-minded group.

With the establishment of institutions, however, many of distinctly higher grade than those de-

scribed will seek admission, many who could theoretically get along outside under the reasonable care of the family but who, because there is no family, or all members of the family have to work, or because they are too poor to support the burden, or for one or another of innumerable reasons will need to send the feeble-minded member to an institution. Thus the institution will at once remove from the community those individuals who are an immediate source of danger to it and in addition it will take those individuals who, while theoretically they might live outside for some reason or other can not be adequately cared for and so, both as a matter of common humanity and also to save the community from the dangers of which these individuals may be the indirect cause (infections), require to be cared for.

If, now, segregation in such an institution is by the process of commitment by "due process of law" as is the case with the insane, as has recently been provided by legislation in Illinois, it will be possible to keep such seriously defective individuals at least during the period of their capacity for reproduction and so accomplish quite as much as is sought by sterilization without doing violence either to the feeble-minded or the best sentiment in the community. An institution which would do this would serve the very best interests of the community by removing from it those individuals who were an absolute dead weight and interfered most with freedom and progress.

The treatment in such an institution offers noth-

ing new in the way of principles involved. The object is to take individuals who can not live in the social environment and create an environment for them in which they can live, and not only live but at the highest efficiency of which they are capable. The environment has, of course, to be made simple enough to meet their level of development and as far as possible adjusted to individual needs.

Education will naturally play a large part in dealing with this class of defectives. In order that they may live at their best dormant and neglected faculties must be developed to capacity. The process of education going hand in hand with useful occupation will enable all to get the most out of life by giving the most under circumstances in which maximum activity can be developed with least danger to society. Under these circumstances an institution should not be considered an expense to the community but a distinct economic advantage making the most out of its defective members. It will enable a given defective who perhaps lived at zero efficiency in the community or perhaps worse, being positively destructive, to live at ten or fifteen per cent. efficiency and thus serve to give much that would otherwise be lost to the social group as a whole. In the process of doing this the immediate burden is taken from the shoulders of the few and redistributed, through the process of taxation, to the shoulders of the many. This is one of the ways in which society equalizes its burdens.

In addition to the feeble-minded who will natur-

ally gravitate to institution care there will of necessity remain a large number variously distributed in the community. Of those who come to form part of other defective, dependent and delinquent classes more will be said in the next chapter. There still remain a great many who are inadequately dealt with and who are not able to adequately protect themselves. The British Commission which was appointed to study this whole subject recommended, among other things, that the feeble-minded in the community be adjudicated as such and thus given the legal status of children. By so doing the community would not be endangered by their attempted adult activities and the feeble-minded themselves would have the legal protection which their status as children would naturally entitle them to. For example: The law provides that majority is attained at twenty-one years of age. From this time forth the individual is entitled to exercise the full rights, duties and privileges of citizenship, voting for instance, and ceases to be entitled to protection as a minor. From what has already been said about age the manifest absurdity of this legal provision when interpreted solely as chronological age is at once apparent. That a person who, because he has lived twenty-one years should be entitled to all the privileges of citizenship, even though he may only have the mental development corresponding to a two or three year old infant or even a nine or ten year old child, is a state of affairs which, to put it mildly, cannot but seriously impair the efficiency of

the social machine if there are many such, seems a self-evident proposition. Such a level of inefficiency tends constantly to drag the whole level of accomplishment downward. Then again the rights and privileges of citizenship give the citizen a right to buy liquor in a saloon and drink it. Those who are familiar with the reactions of the feeble-minded know what that means. They are naturally not nearly so well able to take care of alcohol as the approximately normal individual and are, therefore, much more prone to commit outrages of various sorts under its influence. If the feeble-minded had the legal status of children in the community every one would be put on notice of that fact, and to sell liquor to a feeble-minded man, even though he were forty years of age (chronologically) would constitute identically the same offence as to sell liquor to a child. Such a way of handling the problem would not only put every one on notice but would foster that sort of understanding of the feeble-minded problem in the large as would make for a more intelligent handling all along the line.

With these methods of taking care of the feeble-minded situation the defective individual, instead of being sought out and sterilized would tend, only by his own behaviour, to remove himself from the community. Continuing antisocial tendencies would call forth measures, graduated in their effectiveness to exclude from the herd, to meet it. First an adjudication, then institutional segregation so that the feeble-minded person, as a result of his own be-

haviour, might be said to naturally bring about his own segregation. This to my mind would seem to be the best program. At least I am sure it is the sort of program which can be brought to pass and so is far superior to those which it does not now seem can be made effective because they have not that sort of backing in the minds and hearts of the people which makes it possible.

CHAPTER VII

MISCELLANEOUS GROUPS

In the three previous chapters I have discussed the three great groups of the dependent, defective, and delinquent classes, namely, the insane, the criminal, and the feeble-minded In the present chapter I shall take up for consideration certain other groups, namely, the paupers, prostitutes, alcohol and drug addicts, the unemployed, the epileptic and show, among other things that those who go to make up these several groups might all be classed with the three groups already discussed and treated as such, or in certain instances, notably the epileptics, be considered as sub-groups.

THE PAUPER

We are inclined to look upon the pauper as one who has been unfortunate, unlucky in life, whose failure, in other words, has been due to circumstances largely outside of himself. The more we examine into this proposition, especially in individual instances, the more we are forced to conclude that it is fundamentally wrong and that the counter proposition "Success in this world depends upon brains" is very much nearer the truth.

Let us take an extreme example to illustrate the

truth of the above position. Suppose that a man loses his arm and suppose, in addition, that his position in the herd happens to be that of a blacksmith so that his arm is of supreme importance to him and its loss prevents him from plying his trade. Suppose, as a result of that loss, that he goes to the poorhouse. One naturally thinks of his pauperism as dependent upon, due to his physical injury. But after all is this a fair conclusion? Think how many people there are who have lost an arm or a leg, or both legs, or perhaps their eyesight and yet were able to get along and lead efficient lives in the community! I have in mind a man who completely lost his eyesight in his twenties as the result of an accident, yet who lived an efficient life to the time of his death at about sixty, having managed to raise and support a family and give his children college educations. And then of course all of us think of such well known examples as that of Miss Helen Keller, a young woman now, I think in the neighborhood of forty, who lost absolutely both her eyesight and her hearing when she was about three years old, and yet she is not only an efficient member of the community but is a capable writer and speaker and very much beloved by everybody.

With such facts as these in mind it becomes necessary to reconsider the proposition that the pauperism of the blacksmith is due to the physical loss of his arm. It would seem that there must be something more than the physical injury to account for such a complete failure. To put the matter broadly

he has failed to be able to make the readjustment necessitated by his injury which prevents him effectually from following his trade of blacksmith. What does that mean if not a mental failure! It may be expressed by saying that he has lost his nerve or in any other way, but the essential fact is that he neither has the mental resiliency or resourcefulness, or the moral courage to tackle the problem of life on this new basis. The fact that he may be too old does not alter the explanation. The failure is a psychological one. If he had had the mental capacity he would not have had to go to the poorhouse.

Aside from the fact that the poorhouses have been caring for many years for the manifestly insane and feeble-minded, it must be evident from the above discussion that the other inmates are also, though perhaps not so patently, mentally inefficient—socially inadequate. Those who are familiar with poorhouse types will be able to recall the numerous manifestly feeble-minded and otherwise defective types which every poorhouse has distributed in its population and will perhaps also recall the numerous instances of individuals who are able to live in the community, after a fashion, during the warm months of summer but seek the protection of the poorhouse when the extreme demands of cold weather are ushered in with the winter.

In addition to the types thus far referred to there will be found in every poorhouse a considerable number of aged persons more or less blind and deaf and in a number of instances paralyzed from the effects

of apoplectic strokes All of these conditions may of course be thought of as physical conditions which have produced the pauperism, and in a sense of course they are, but I think it is evident that the element in the failure which is most important, which in fact is what really makes the failure and makes a restitution impossible, is the mental element This is not generally thought to be so, largely at least, because these persons appear to be perfectly "sane" as a result of ordinary observation. I think, however, that most people would be quite astounded to see the results that would follow from a systematic mental examination of these cases and learn how sadly reduced they really were. The outward evidences of a sound mind can be maintained for a long time, as a sort of habit, long after real mental capacity has fled.

A number of other types could be mentioned, but the same reasoning could be applied to all. *Pauperism is a problem of mental inefficiency and social inadequacy only in a somewhat less obvious and circumstantially different setting than those already considered.*

THE PROSTITUTE

Prostitution, like every other social phenomenon, is a complex product and therefore dependent upon many causes. That a large number of prostitutes are feeble-minded, however, is no longer open to doubt. Easily fifty per cent. of the prostitutes who come within the sphere of observation of the various police agencies, reformatories and homes are

feeble-minded. Some surveys have given a much higher per cent. than this although it is to be remembered that probably only the most defective "get caught." Fifty per cent. I am convinced is a conservative estimate. Yet even if the proportion is no higher, feeble-mindedness easily constitutes the one most important cause of prostitution and the one most important and at once most hopeful aspect to attack with remedial measures.

Probably no social problem has been attacked with more vigor and more frequently and also with fewer desirable results than the problem of prostitution. The history of prostitution is generously sprinkled with attempt after attempt, each one useless or worse than useless, to suppress or regulate it. The fundamental defects in all these attempts have been two. In the first place prostitution, in just the same way as I have shown with reference to other social problems, was treated as a unitary concept, that is as a single phenomenon in itself and not, as it really is, a complex of all manner of things. In the second place, the effort was made to deal with it solely by repressive measures. The repression of instincts, as I have repeatedly shown, can only lead to some other form of expression. Repression alone is never the true solution of any mental problem. If a certain avenue of expression is cut off the energy has to find an outlet in some other way, therefore, unless some socially useful way is provided or ready to hand then the energy will break through in some un-

desirable form, expression will be obtained in a socially undesirable and destructive form.

Perhaps no other social phenomenon has illustrated better than prostitution the utter uselessness of trying to solve it by means of methods which found their ultimate motivating forces in the hate of the herd. What this means I have already indicated in the chapter on the criminal (Chap. V). Briefly, of course, it means that this particular way of dealing with the sex life appeals so strongly to the instinctive cravings of the herd, tends so strongly to unloose all its tendencies which make for letting go, backsliding, taking the easiest way, turning aside from the higher aims of culture that the strongest of all emotions for fighting purposes, hate, has to be pressed in the service against it.

As I have indicated, however, real lasting gains can not be obtained by means of actions founding in hate. Hate is always destructive, it never builds permanent and enduring structures. The prostitute for centuries has been shunned as sinful, her sin irretrievable, and has been hunted from place to place by the officers of the law unremittingly or else preyed upon by the whole hideous pack of underworld grafters. She has been hunted and preyed upon but almost never considered as a social problem worthy of scientific study with a view to solution until today. Only now is it possible to see through the thick veil of hate, which for so long has obscured the vision of the herd, and realize that the problem of prostitution,

like the other social problems dealt with in this book, must be judicially dealt with with a view, not of venting our own, individual, personal spleen, but seeing what can be done about it. And too, that when we come to attempt the solution of this problem, like all the others, we must understand that no solution can issue which is not at once, to some extent at least, a solution for both factors involved—the individual and the community—in order to help one we must be able to help the other. Destroying the individual does not help the herd. To destroy an individual is too much like destroying so much energy. We must try and see if it is not possible to turn the energy into more useful channels, to direct it to better ends, to use it to better advantage.

Without doubt the most important single factor in the prostitution problem is the factor of feeble-mindedness. Feeble-mindedness is largely responsible for the ease with which the prostitutes can be trafficked in, it must be largely at the basis of the white slave trade although of course not wholly. The very fact of feeble-mindedness, however, makes these women peculiarly the prey of the unscrupulous, puts them almost wholly at their mercy. Feeble-mindedness and the consequent dependence is too the large element in many of the crimes which are associated with prostitution, the prostitute being exploited and used by the more intelligent, forceful and experienced male criminal. Feeble-mindedness is also, probably, an important factor in increasing the dan-

ger of the prostitute as a distributor of venereal infection.

If feeble-mindedness is the factor which makes for so much of the actual danger to society in prostitution it is also the most hopeful aspect because more capable of doing something practical about. As it is today, for the most part, the prostitute is simply treated as an outlaw and when caught, that is arraigned for some technical offence (vagrancy, soliciting), is given a sentence of thirty or sixty days in jail or in the workhouse. The only possible good that can come of such treatment is by removing a carrier of infection from the community for a given period. But even so, her going back to her calling is not conditioned upon her being free from disease but upon the expiration of the arbitrary time limit prescribed by the judge. Aside from this physical removal from the community for a given period what possible good can such treatment do to either the prostitute herself or to society? How can it be conceived to assist at all in the solution of the social problem?

The fundamental difficulty is again that the offender, in this case the prostitute, is treated for something which they are not. That is, just as in the case of the criminal, the offence, in the abstract, is dealt with by society proceeding to take it out on the particular individual who happens to have committed it. To treat every prostitute in this way, to group them all under the single classification, and then to expect one single form of treatment to be effectual

in all cases is as ridiculous as to expect quinine to be the remedy for all fevers. Such a viewpoint can only be due to a failure to study the individual problem.

As soon as the individual is studied we will find that the prostitute class, like every large social class, is made up of a great variety of types. We will find all sorts of mild, incipient, and residual mental disease, all sorts of physical illness, all sorts of stresses at the social level, economic particularly, and finally, and most important, a large proportion of feeble-mindedness. Now when a prostitute is arraigned for some offence if she could be treated for what is really the matter with her the first great step would be taken in the rational handling of this great problem. This would mean, in the case of the feeble-minded woman, that, instead of sending her to jail or the workhouse for a given, usually short, period that she be committed as feeble-minded to an institution. Here she would cease to be a positive source of danger to the community (moral and physical) but might, as a result of education, become an actual source of energy, a real assistance relatively speaking. Here she would be kept and so prevented from spreading disease and depravity and also prevented from reproducing. If circumstances could be so arranged as to adequately protect the situation she might be paroled with a view to discharge if her conduct and efficiency or the solicitous oversight of friends, relatives or a charitable organization warranted. In this way of dealing with the situation the

woman is dealt with for what she is rather than attempting to deal with the act as such and by so doing being blinded either by hate or a sickly sentimentality from seeing the real human problem and therefore doing the really constructive thing about it.

Those who are not feeble-minded need just as intelligent treatment for the particular thing that ails them. A woman, perhaps defective morally, might be driven to prostitution to earn a living because too ill to work, who, if relieved from her physical illness would gladly give up prostitution. And similarly for every case. Each individual would need individual treatment—the principle for which this book stands.

THE INEBRIATE

Inebriety, like the other conditions I have discussed, is not a unitary concept. Persons are impelled to drink for all sorts of reasons and the drinking is only the outward sign of what is going wrong. Alcoholic indulgence may be an indication of a beginning psychotic excitement or, on the other hand, of a depression; it may be a feature of the early stages of a dementia precox or of paresis; it may be a periodic affair which seems to affiliate it with the epilepsies; it may be the final desperation of one who has failed utterly or who is suffering from a hopeless illness. The persons who drink may be highly intellectual or deeply defective, and to use the class terms already defined may be insane, criminal or feeble-minded, or may be paupers, prostitutes, epi-

leptics, vagrants or what not. Aside from all these complicating conditions there are a group of inebriates as such. These, while not alike, by any means, any more than any other group of people are made up of like units, have, in a general way similar reasons for drinking, although in each individual case the reasons are given a special turn applicable to that particular person only.

I think it well, before proceeding further with a discussion of the inebriate, to first mention two popular delusions concerning alcohol.

There are two conceptions connected with the use of alcohol, one of which has been seriously invaded on the scientific side and its position weakened, but the other of which still holds sway. The first of these is the conception that alcohol is a stimulant. I need hardly tell how thoroughly the props have been knocked out from under this position. In the destruction of this, I might almost call it superstition, the work of Kraepelin stands out prominently. The other is the idea that alcohol is a habit-forming drug. This means, I take it, that it has some special power for creating a habit on the part of the individual and, that power is greater for some reason, not specified, than the habit-creating power of milk, beefsteak, or other nutrient taken into the gastro-intestinal tract. This second conception is still strong in the minds of people at large, and I think occupies a place in a great deal of the thinking of professional men about alcoholism. It is, however, in my opinion, as faulty a belief as the belief in its stimulating properties;

both beliefs are founded upon the same cause, the knowledge of which serves to explain them.

It is unnecessary to enter further into the details of the experimental work, which has demonstrated that alcohol is not a stimulant, than to say, that in a general way the practical results of that work are that accurate observations of both muscular and mental work under the influence of alcohol show a progressively falling curve of efficiency. As to the matter of the habit-forming properties of alcohol, I am not aware that any experimental work has been instituted to demonstrate their existence or lack of existence.

Inebriety, as the term is here used, in my opinion, must be considered as a neurosis, and from this point of view has the two fundamental traits of a neurosis which are of prime importance in explaining its symptoms In the first instance, the prevailing and all pervading feeling of the neurotic is one of inefficiency, and I think that it will be admitted that the life history of the alcoholic shows him to be an inefficient individual. He is incapable of meeting reality efficiently every day. He may be able to deal with the problem of reality for a greater or lesser length of time, but continuity of effort, day in and day out, is foreign to the alcoholic character. He can stand the strain only about so long, longer in some cases than in others, but the principle is the same. This is the inefficiency Adler believes is dependent upon organic inferiority, or to use an older and more tried term, it is constitutional.

Now, assuming this condition of inefficiency, based upon constitutional organic defect, in the make-up of the individual, how does such a person react to such a deficiency of make-up? The reaction is an effort at finding safety,—it is the safety motive, the instinct for the familiar, the flight to cover, so to speak, which drives the inefficient individual to find some way of escape from the horrid facts, the overburdening oppressions of reality.

This path he finds open to him through the use of alcohol. How frequently do we see the alcoholic, not going out among people and meeting with his fellows, not mixing with the world, but retiring by himself, shutting himself up in his room, perhaps in darkness, in solitude, and in quiet, and drinking himself stupid, unconscious! Here the escape is absolutely necessary, there is no compromise possible; reality must be driven out at any cost, even to the point of unconsciousness.

We have of course many lesser degrees of escape than this. We have the jovial, story-telling, tipsy inebriate, who escapes from all responsibility, who sits up all night and slaps his friends on the back, and laughs and jokes, and gives the morrow notice that he cares not what it brings forth, that tonight is tonight, and let the morrow take care of itself. We know the type, but does not the same explanation hold as in the former case? Is not this man also escaping from reality by not meeting it efficiently, not only by so crippling himself that on the morrow

he is unable to face it, but by his very words he abjures it?

The feeling of inefficiency and flight from reality, the ear-marks of a neurosis, are the ear-marks of alcoholism and now we can understand why alcohol has been called a stimulant, and why it has been called a habit-producing drug. It has been called a stimulant, because the individual, who is incapable of facing reality and has had to take alcohol to escape, has had also to have the best possible reason for taking it —namely, that it would help him to meet reality. It is a pure fiction of the alcoholic, this stimulating property of alcohol. As to the habit-producing qualities of this drug—another fiction—the alcoholic cannot get along without his alcohol; he must find a road that takes him away from reality, once in a while at least; therefore the fiction of the habit. The alcohol has gripped him with this mysterious habit; like an evil spirit he is in its clutches, and therefore he, himself, to himself is no longer responsible. He has projected his responsibility upon this myth, and therefore calmed his conscience.

All this is true, too, of the various drug addictions. The fundamental underlying reason for the indulgence is always an exquisitely personal one and so the treatment can never get anywhere that lumps all these persons together and deals with them all alike. Farm colonies, outdoor work, general hygienic régime are all very well in their way and have much to be said for them aside from any alleged therapeu-

tic advantages which they may have, but such treatment can never offer anything more than a temporary respite from the tyranny of the neurosis.

We are familiar, however, with the great claims made by many agencies, particularly by those of a more or less religious character. It is true that such agencies often succeed when all other means have failed. Their success is dependent upon their ability to seize upon and use the regressive tendency (discussed in Chap. III) in a socially acceptable and useful way. The inebriates come, through the religious appeal, to renounce their self-sufficiency which has always gotten them into trouble, and as little children (regression) accept the guidance offered. In this way regression is made regenerative.

Here again the individual should be treated for what he is, not for what he is not. No good can come of locking him up for a few days in the workhouse. The therapeutic attack must be by way of the psychotherapeutic approach.

THE EPILEPTIC

Just as we have seen that all sorts and conditions of people are included under each of the groups we have discussed thus far, so it is true of epilepsy; the term includes all sorts of conditions—epileptics include all sorts of persons. It makes no difference from what angle we approach the problem of epilepsy, from that of cause, pathology, course of the disease, methods of treatment or any other, we shall

find the problem immensely complex and shading off on all sides into other regions.

The term epilepsy itself is falling into disrepute because it no longer connotes anything at all definite. As a result the term "the epilepsies" has come into use only in its turn to prove too vague to be useful. This class of disorders might be said to belong to the group of convulsive disorders except for the fact that every extreme of seizure is included from the mildest and most transitory disturbances of consciousness to the definite convulsive attacks and the long periods of mental disorder.

Just, however, as we saw in dealing with the question of inebriety, aside from all the various complicating factors, that resort to certain narcotizing drugs represented a fairly distinct type of reaction, so here we find that disturbances of consciousness of the general nature of assumptions of less clear conscious states tending to unconsciousness represent a distinct reaction type.

This tendency to become unconscious is explicable along the same lines as those followed in explaining inebriety. Unconsciousness is a flight from reality just as drunkenness is only it is a much more successful flight and so represents a much greater necessity and therefore a more serious lack of capacity for adaptation. Keeping in mind the immense amount of work which has been done on epilepsy, particularly that based on the hypothesis of its autotoxic origin, still I am sure that the trend of the best

opinion today is to see in this flight from reality the essential element in the pathological reaction. Just as in the phenomena of alcoholism, so here too, the particular reason in each individual case is exquisitely personal. While the general principle of the reaction by unconsciousness is that it is a flight from reality, nevertheless the reasons which make such a flight necessary are different with each individual. Treatment, therefore, which is other than individual can hardly be expected to have any more than temporarily ameliorating results.

The necessity for intensive study of the individual in order to intelligently handle the problem he presents, in order, as I put it, to treat him for what he is and not for what he is not, is probably nowhere more obvious than here, for this type of reaction is found in widely different types of persons. The epileptic (so-called) may be a criminal, a pauper, an inebriate, a prostitute, insane, or feeble-minded, young or old, sick or well and for each of these conditions there must be a different angle of approach. The dependency of these attacks upon demonstrable physical causes may be great (head injury, brain tumor, Bright's disease) or negligible, and treatment must vary accordingly.

THE HOMOSEXUAL

This social group, like the others, is a complex and heterogeneous one and one, too, that we have only recently come to study scientifically. Perhaps no group of individuals have suf-

fered from less understanding, have been treated with greater lack of consideration, than this group. The antipathic emotions have held almost complete sway and so have made the scientific approach to the problem practically impossible. The history of society's attitude towards the homosexual is much the same as the history of its attitude towards the prostitute except that it has, if possible, been more completely dominated by the antipathic emotions.

Homosexuality has come of late to have a much broader meaning than that usually connoted by the popular speech. It means that degree of attraction for the same sex which turns the individual aside on the path towards a heterosexual goal and therefore away from those activities which naturally lead to procreation and are therefore race-preservative. The term by no means necessarily connotes actual concrete acts of sexual perversion. In this large sense it is readily seen why it should be tabooed by the herd. Its tendency is destructive to the interests of the herd as a biological unit and therefore the reaction against it. The reaction of hate and its congenèrs is the instinctive way of self-protection and must necessarily precede any judicial, intelligent attitude based upon scientific knowledge which can only come in the course of development when instinct shall have been controlled and directed by reason.

As already intimated, the homosexual group is a large and complex one and we are only beginning to be able to approach its problems with a clear scientific

vision, but as we are able to do this we come more and more to an appreciation of how widely this particular type of inefficiency is distributed. Again, therefore, we come to appreciate the emphasis which I have all along put upon the necessity for studying the individual in order that he may be dealt with for what he is rather than perfunctorily classified with this or that social group just because, and for no other reason, the accident of circumstance has found him momentarily identified with it. Distinct homosexual types are found among the insane, the criminal, the feeble-minded, the epileptic, the vagrant, etc., etc., so that we must come to realize that it is a type of reaction, not a label to distinguish a given individual from all others, and try in our investigations to evaluate the part it has played in the social inadequacy of the particular individual under consideration.

Viewed in this way it becomes a problem like all the others and the objects of treatment come out clearly instead of being befogged by a haze of emotion.

The homosexual reaction should be corrected if possible. Psychotherapy is the most hopeful way of approach. Failing this the individual should be taught to use his energies as best he can based upon an understanding of himself. The ideal, next to cure, would be a direction of the energies into socially useful channels, which direction would at the same time afford an adequate fulfilment of the individual.

Homosexuality, in the broad sense here used, is

found as a type of reaction in a great many conditions which constitute or lead to social inadequacy. It, therefore, offers a natural barrier to procreation of the socially inadequate classes the immense value of which, to the herd, has not been appreciated. It is, so to speak, a natural means of sterilization.

THE VAGRANT

The vagrant class is a large one. The tramp or the hobo as he is called is an international institution, loosely but effectively organized for its purposes, having a more or less well developed, primitive type of language of its own, and signs of recognition for kindred spirits. It is made up of all sorts and conditions of men and as a social level of reaction corresponds roughly to the prostitute class.

Individual studies will show that this class is made up of considerable numbers of mild or aborted psychotic types, many petty criminals, inebriates, homosexuals, and in short psychopathic and inferior types of character of every sort.

Here, however, as in other cases we must recognize vagrancy as a particular type of reaction, though of course individually conditioned in each case. It is but another type of flight from reality. Success depends, among other things, upon industry and industry means doing the day's work, not once in a while but every day. Success is built upon continuity of effort rather than upon degree of effort. The vagrant belongs to the type of individual, like the inebriate, who can not bring himself to this regularity

of expenditure of energy in a given direction, he constantly slips from under his responsibilities and finds in vagrancy a permanent way out. As a tramp living from day to day on what he can beg, with no ties that bind, no home, no people, no fixed abiding place, he feels himself free from all the restraints civilized society imposes upon its responsible members. He sinks to a level of reaction which does not make demands upon him which he cannot meet. In attempting to deal with the vagrant it is of course necessary to know the individual and to bear in mind his limitations trying always to direct his energy into useful channels at highest efficiency at his level of capacity for socially adequate reaction.

THE HOMELESS UNEMPLOYED

The group of unemployed that can be found in the large municipal lodging houses offers interesting problems for study. Of course everything imaginable will be found in this group. There will be found physical disease of all sorts: tuberculosis, valvular heart disease, chronic disease of the kidneys, blindness, paralysis, syphilis, conditions incident to age, senility, various types of mental disease: epilepsy, alcoholism, imbecility, relatively defective types dependent upon lack of education or lack of business training or training in a skilled trade; and a considerable number will be found at certain times as a result of the fluctuation in trade conditions which occasionally throw large numbers of men out of employment at short notice.

This whole group, however, impresses the investigator as lacking in that mental alertness which is necessary to success of even a limited degree. A more or less diseased condition of some organ of the body is not an adequate explanation for failure. Nature has provided us with very much more of every organ than we need for any ordinary purpose. If this were not so a great many of the surgical operations which are done every day in our hospitals would be quite impossible. When we bear in mind such remarkable examples of sick men as Kant, who is said never to have left his home town, Königsburg, Herbert Spencer, who for years was able to work only two hours daily, and Dr. Harper of the University of Chicago, who, although afflicted with a deadly disease and suffering great pain insisted upon working to the completion of a task he had in hand almost up to the last hour, it seems almost as if the spirit could surmount every obstacle and that in the mind was the place that we must always look if we wish finally to know the true explanation of any man's inefficiency.

To be sure these men are not fair average examples, they are the extraordinary exceptions. Still, a limited experience with invalids will teach one the extent to which the psyche, usually, in such instances, referred to as the will, is capable of overcoming the handicap of physical illness.

The existence of all these groups of the socially inadequate and the very considerable numbers included

in each (a survey of London, England, indicated that one in each fifty of the population of that city were dependent) has always been a matter for the alarmist and pessimist to dilate upon. In the large general view which I have tried to give of these groups I have tried to show what their existence means. In fact, the term which I have used, socially inadequate, expresses that meaning. They are constituted of the people who fall short in their make-up of those qualities which make it possible for them to react in a way which is satisfying or acceptable to the standards of the society of which they form a part. Viewed in this way their existence has a decidedly hopeful and optimistic aspect for it means that society is straining its utmost to go ahead on the path of progress and is constantly pushing its ideals forward just as far as the efficiency of its constituent elements will permit. How much better off we are with all these groups of the inefficient than are the Oriental societies where there is little or no tendency toward the segregation, natural or otherwise, of the unfit but on the contrary where, often, their reactions are erected into a something desirable, even to be worshipped (the Holy men of India). The inefficient classes furnish the concrete evidence of failure to attain to accepted standards of efficiency and by that same token bear witness to the height of those standards. Our intelligent dealing with them will help to push us forward on the path of progress rather by lightening the load than by blazing the trail.

CHAPTER VIII

MISCELLANEOUS PROBLEMS

In this chapter I shall briefly discuss a number of social problems, not with the idea of settling them or even of setting forth my own viewpoint regarding each, but solely with the idea of indicating certain attitudes of mind which interfere with their adequate consideration. In this way I shall develop certain general principles of psychological reaction which interfere with efficiency by creating psychic scotomata (blind spots) and so justify the discussion as properly belonging in a work on the principles of mental hygiene, although some of the problems discussed do not appear, on their face, to have any near relationship to that subject matter.

PATENT MEDICINES—"CURES"

The growth of various sects of "healers" has taken place in response to a demand upon the part of the people. They have come into existence because of a need which a large number of people have, and they are the answer to that need. That need, of course, expressed simply is the need for better health, but if we will confine ourselves more particularly to the consideration of mental cases, it is a need for greater happiness, for greater peace of mind. Be-

yond that the need need not be more specifically expressed. In this restless civilization of ours it is pretty difficult to find a place where one may feel that he has attained the things which make life worth living and is no longer assailed by cares and worries that destroy all of the conditions upon which peace of mind may be based. The restless multitude, seeking for peace of mind—for happiness, for fulfilment, —express a need, and so along comes a whole host of medical, religious, even political and sociological sects of various sorts which minister to this cry for help. Some people get comfort out of religion; some people get comfort out of associating themselves with various charitable or reform movements; fads of all varieties and in every sphere of life grow up, and among them come these sects of healers who point out to the dissatisfied—the unhappy—that their trouble is due to this or that, that it is dependent upon some physical disorder, perhaps of the kidneys or some other organ of the body, or that it is mental in origin, and, therefore, needs some kind of psychotherapeutic treatment. A certain portion of these unhappy people flock to the standards that are raised by these individuals who claim to know what the matter is with them and how they may be cured. This attitude is perfectly understandable. It is not only not strange that it is so, but it would, indeed, be strange if it were not so. The chronic invalid will almost surely and quite naturally take the advice of a man who says confidently "I can cure you." Who would not? Would not you or I if we had been pro-

nounced hopelessly ill, if we had spent years in fruitlessly seeking health only to see it gradually failing us? Why not at least try?—it can do no harm, and then this same man cured Smith and Jones, and perhaps he may cure me. It surely is worth the trial. This argument is controlling if we have no standards of comparison that we have made our own by which we may judge of the real value of the claims set forth. It must be remembered, too, that many of these practitioners are sincere in their beliefs and really think that they can do what they claim, and we must also not forget that they do succeed in doing what they claim, at least apparently, in a sufficient number of cases to give some warrant for their faith in themselves and for others' faith in them.

If we will look over the history of these cures we will find that almost everything which the imagination can conjure up has been used to cure the ills of human kind and that almost every ill that can be imagined has been reported cured by such means. People have been cured of most everything under the sun, by little pieces of metal, by bottles of medicine, by salves, by electricity, by holding on to iron rods that led into a tub of bottles and water, by hypnotism, suggestion, and finally by religion, and all these various means of cure have cured ills equally various and have all cured the same sort of ills. Now the first principle that I may lay down from this statement is that whenever we find a certain kind of illness cured by various and divers means, under all sorts of conditions and circum-

stances, we may feel reasonably certain that nothing in the agent applied has really had anything to do with the recovery of the patient; that the patient not only carried within himself the conditions which made him sick, but he also possessed within himself the powers which rightly used could make him well, and that the most which the remedies offered could possibly have done was to awaken within him these powers and cause him to put them to use. A paralysis which may be cured indifferently, either by a bottle of medicine, the application of a magnet, or a prayer, is certainly not the sort of paralysis which is dependent upon any material disorder of the body that we know of; certainly not the kind of paralysis which requires for its amelioration the bringing into contact with the disordered tissues a remedial agent of some sort; certainly it is quite different from this, and you may easily understand from this example why it is that I say that the patient contains not only the conditions which make his disease possible, but also the power to make himself well, for it is hardly conceivable that such different remedies as liquid medicine, the application to the surface of a magnet, and prayer could have some common quality which was responsible for the result.

It is this class of cases, which I have illustrated by the patient with paralysis, who are appealed to primarily by all sorts of alleged cures, and it is this class of cases that frequently make an apparently good recovery from their symptoms under the treatment that is given; it matters very little what that

treatment is, and, therefore, these various cures derive a very great support from producing such results, a support which I think will be seen from my presentation thus far is entirely an ill-deserved one, for it makes the claim of having produced a result which is not altogether a just claim, although there is a certain justice in it. Without attempting to explain just exactly how these cures are effected I may say that in such a case of paralysis as I have cited the trouble with the patient is that he thinks he is paralyzed, and when he can be made to think that he is not paralyzed then the paralysis disappears. This disappearance of the paralysis, as a matter of fact, did follow the treatment and was in some way dependent upon that treatment and, therefore, there is a certain justice in saying that the practitioner whatever his method, really did cure the patient. Herein lies the abiding fallacy of the whole situation and the one particularly to which I desire to direct attention.

Truth is evasive; perhaps we never can attain to absolute truth with regard to any special problem. Perhaps the best that we can do is to keep striving, and by striving to come always nearer and nearer, though we never quite attain. And so we have to measure the claims of the class of people of whom I am talking against the claims of others with a view to seeing which of the several claimants most nearly approximates the truth. Now it is true that a certain patient with a certain type of paralysis goes to one of these healers, submits to his treatment, and

following the treatment the paralysis disappears. That happens over and over again, and the healer says, with some considerable reason, that he is cured of paralysis. But we must not stop there. The healers treat all cases alike. Their classification is more primitive. Paralysis is paralysis. While in medicine we know that there are very many forms of paralysis; from injury to a peripheral nerve (by trauma or toxin), injury to the spinal cord, injury to the brain (from many causes and in many locations), the purely psychogenic type without discoverable physical organic lesion, and these larger groupings could be subdivided and subdivided in ever smaller groups. Scientific knowledge advances by seeing differences where before there was only likeness. The healer's knowledge, from this point of view, is therefore much more primitive and so his ability to adjust his treatment to each individual case much less, and therefore he must of necessity be much less competent to handle the problem in the large despite his success in individual instances.

Then again, the type of reasoning which concludes that, because in a certain person the symptoms of his illness disappeared after the application of a certain remedy; that, therefore, that particular remedy was the cause of their disappearance, is most dangerous, because most logical. The conclusion is one of those pitfalls of the obvious to which we are all liable in proportion to the superficiality of our knowledge. It is the same kind of reasoning that led primitive man to believe that he could make rain by going

through certain ceremonies. These ceremonies vary greatly, but for the most part consist of imitating a storm and sprinkling water on the ground. After they have been carefully performed in all details then it rains—sooner or later—and the rain is assumed to be the result of the ceremonial. It is the confusing of sequence with effect and is one of the most prolific sources of error and of groundless superstitions and theories. The rain comes following the ceremonial of the rainmaker, but is the result of natural causes over which he has no control whatever. Many of the reputed "cures" also come about following certain forms of treatment—also as a result of natural causes, over which the individual applying the remedy has no more control than the rainmaker.

It, therefore, follows that no one should be permitted to practice the art of healing except he be grounded in the structure and functions of the human body and the application of all varieties of remedial agents at all levels, and it is the function of the state to see that the people who are accredited by it to practice the art be so equipped.

The whole subject of medical education, the equipment of the individual to practice medicine, is a complex one, and very naturally the claims of medicine as applied to the lower levels—to the physical and the physiological—have received attention long before the claims of medicine to be applied at the psychological level. The psychological level is the last level to come within the ken of the physician because it is

the most complex and the most difficult to confront and requires a great deal of knowledge about the lower levels before it can be approached at all. Therefore, it has remained the stronghold of the charlatans and the faith curists. Even the most elementary instruction is not given today in many of our medical colleges regarding the disorders at the psychological level, and the general result is that these different faith curists prosper, and the physician, knowing deep down within himself that the whole business is nonsense but having no adequate education in such matters so that he can define wherein the nonsense exists, is compelled to defend himself against them by attempting to cast ridicule upon their methods, and if approached for an explanation of what the trouble is he is pretty apt to be so weak in his replies as to help the cause of the opposition more than to hurt it. The cry of the mentally afflicted has brought the inadequate response of the charlatan, and it is because the cry is unintelligent that the answer is inadequate.

In the last few years, however, there has been a noticeable change in the whole matter of medical education. The Carnegie Foundation and the American Medical Association have been making such surveys of the medical colleges as have resulted in their being grouped into various classes according to the excellence of the instruction given. Such a public pointing out of the class to which a medical college belongs has deflected many students from the cheaper colleges, where medical education was at its lowest

ebb, and resulted in the closing of these colleges because of lack of income and a resulting lessening in the number of medical students throughout the United States. The situation now is that no person can blindly go to a medical school without knowing just where that medical school stands in degree of the excellence of its educational facilities, and no individual who employs a physician need lack that knowledge. Therefore, a great step has already been taken in advance in the better equipping of the man who is to practise medicine in the community. Now, on the other hand, it remains for the public themselves to make greater demands upon the physician, and not only maintain the standard which has been reached thus far, but create a still higher one. In the matter of the ills of the mind, physicians today are, on the whole, quite unable to cope with the problems involved. Practicaly none of the older physicians have ever had courses in their medical training that dealt with mental disorders, and very few of the younger practitioners have ever had anything that remotely resembles an adequate course of instruction. Therefore, the physicians, themselves unable to meet these conditions, are indirectly one of the greatest sources of revenue of the charlatan. The charlatan gets what the physician cannot deal with. It becomes, therefore, the duty of the physician to equip himself to handle these conditions rather than to bewail the fact that his patients go elsewhere, and he will equip himself and he will be able to handle them when the public makes an intelli-

gent demand upon him for that class of service.

I have not undertaken to deal with distinct frauds. There are many claims by all sorts of persons to cure disease that are plainly and simply fraudulent and require treatment from that standpoint by the machinery of the criminal law. It makes little difference to the patient, however, whether the claims are fraudulent or sincere so long as the result is the same in either case. I have merely tried to point out come of the fallacious methods of reasoning that make it possible for either or both to make a successful appeal. Ignorance is the soil in which all such claims prosper.

In this example is seen, perhaps as well as anywhere, the influence of *ignorance* as a distorting and destructive factor in conduct. But it must not be lost sight of that ignorance is a relative term. A man may know a great deal about something and be very ignorant about something else. There is a saying, which emphasizes this aspect of ignorance, that the place to sell a gold brick is on a college campus. In that realm of conduct where ignorance rules, *prejudice,* that is opinions controlled by unconscious motives, rules, for it is very rare to find a person so broadly founded as not to be susceptible from this angle in regions of knowledge where he is not familiar. And even such a broad gauged person is after all pretty helpless in a specific concrete matter about which his experience has nothing to offer. In a given condition, for example, is it the proper thing to operate? and should the operation be done now

or ought there be a little further delay? He has to hand over the decision to someone else, the best he can do is to choose with all the keenness of vision of which he is capable who that someone else shall be.

FATIGUE

In speaking of fatigue, we are still using a term of very vague connotations, and dealing with a condition that admits of measurement only with the greatest of difficulty. Not only this, but in the present state of our knowledge, it is practically impossible to state wherein the fatigue is resident, what part of the individual really is fatigued, and what are the mechanisms, chemical, physical and psychic, of that fatigue. The general gross fact which seems to issue from this complex situation is that human beings, worked under given conditions, tend to show a gradual falling off in the efficiency of their work, and that this falling off in efficiency can be prevented by changing the conditions, more particularly, by increasing the opportunities for rest, and that, further, when human beings continue to work under conditions which show a gradual falling off in efficiency, other manifestations tend to come into evidence, namely, various kinds and descriptions of disturbances of health. So that, with our present knowledge, it would seem more accurate, and perhaps wiser, to deal with the human being as if he were a machine, and with his efficiency as measured by his output, and endeavour to find what the conditions are which lower his efficiency, either impairing

it temporarily, or tending to impair it permanently, and then endeavouring to discover what the conditions are which will prevent this temporary or permanent impairment, and so increase the efficiency.

I have been tempted to say what I have said, which is more particularly a plea for greater definiteness in the use of terms, by looking through the literature of fatigue, particularly in connection with various occupations, and noticing with what little regard for accuracy the term fatigue and certain other terms were used. I refer more particularly to the conditions which are presumed to be the results of mental fatigue. I find numerous papers, some of them by well-known men, showing the prevalence and the increase, particularly of neurasthenia and hysteria, in certain occupations, and I note the statistics, particularly those of foreign sanitaria, for the working classes, showing the immense increase in nervous diseases that have been admitted to these sanitaria in recent years. There appears to be very little in any of this literature that at all adequately accounts for these conditions.

In the realm of the neuroses and the psychoneuroses, such, particularly, as neurasthenia and hysteria, the particular character of the work, or its severity, could by no possibility operate, if our present ideas of these conditions are correct, as adequate causes. Hysteria, for example, is a purely mental disease, dependent upon purely mental causes; in other words, psychogenic in origin. Work of any character or description, or of any degree of sever-

ity, could not be conceived to be a cause in any true sense. We all know that if we have some weak point in our bodies that it bothers us more when we are below par, and we are able to adjust to it better when we are in good health. The muscles of accommodation, for example, partake of the tone of the general musculature, and when health is good they may give little trouble, but when the health is poor they may make difficulty. In the same way, and only in that way, can occupations or fatigue of any kind be said to be a causative factor of hysteria. They can only be adjuvant causes at best, and, at that, as will be seen, unimportant ones.

With neurasthenia we are dealing with a condition which is not so prominently mental. In fact, neurasthenia, as we understand it today, is not a mental disorder primarily, but a physical disorder. However, the term "neurasthenia" is perhaps one of the most loosely used terms in medicine, and, as I see it through the literature that I have spoken of before, there appears to be no definiteness about its use. It is applied to all sorts and conditions of things, including the whole realm of the neuroses and the psychoneuroses, and probably some of the actual psychoses. Now we have a fairly well-defined syndrome to which the term neurasthenia is applicable, the symptoms of which are, in the main, a feeling of pressure on the top of the head, more or less insomnia, spinal irritation, with perhaps pain in the back, certain paresthesias, easy fatiguibility, and emotional irritability. This may be a primary neu-

rosis or it may be a secondary neurosis following upon other illnesses, such as prolonged sickness of some kind, or following an acute illness, such as typhoid fever. As a primary neurosis, it may be described as a primary fatigue neurosis, although it must be realized that the belief that it is due to fatigue, and that the symptoms are dependent upon the elaboration of toxic fatigue substances, is purely hypothetical. Even admitting the truth of all these things, however, there is absolutely no warrant, if our present concepts of this condition are correct, and they are being verified every day, for believing that occupations of any kind, or of any degree of severity, can be other than purely adjuvant and unimportant causes of this condition as in hysteria.

We see in the literature, for example, that a great many of the telephone girls are getting neurasthenia and the cause is attributed to long hours of work, the extreme effort of attention that is necessary because of the character of the work, and its constant annoyance and irritating character. All of these things are true, but if the modern hypothesis of neurasthenia, to which I have referred, is correct they can not be the fundamental causes. To speak broadly, we can only understand the neurasthenia in such cases by thinking of these girls as individuals who have been prepared by nature, up to a certain point, to fulfil a certain function and then, because of the exigencies of life or what not, all of the energies which have been developed in that direction are, so to speak, sidetracked and at about the period of

puberty, when nature might expect physiological and psychological fulfilment, the individual is called upon to make a complete readjustment, to find entirely new avenues of outlet of nervous energy, to concentrate upon entirely alien interests. Now some people are so constituted that they can do this thing, so they succeed. Others are so constituted that they can not. They become neurasthenic or develop other neuroses, while certain others, and they are perhaps the most frequent, occupy a borderland position. These girls, under favourable conditions of employment, with plenty of opportunity for rest, good food, good housing, and all that sort of thing, manage to get along. With prolonged hours of work and irritating conditions, perhaps coupled with unhygienic and insanitary living, they break down. So it will be seen what I mean by fundamental causes and how I regard the usually attributed causes as only adjuvant. It will be seen also why I believe the problem is deeper than the individual and strikes at once at the social conditions brought about by the various industries and occupations.

I might speak of other conditions, but these two are sufficiently illustrative. Hysteria surely, and in all probability neurasthenia, belong to the class of diseases which are not dependent upon the introduction or the action upon the body of some specific morbific agent. They are essentially social diseases which depend for their existence upon the maladjustment of the individual to his social surroundings, his inability to fit into the demands that are made

upon him because of his relations to other people, actually or prospectively, and as such can not be dependent for their existence upon long hours of work or upon the character of that work. These considerations, however, do not make it any the less important that they be considered in connection with the various industries, nor does it make it obvious why there has been such an increase in the number of these diseases. A moment's reflection, however, I think will be convincing if my premises are accepted that their importance lies, not in the fact of their association with any particular kind or character of work so far as the fatiguing qualities of that work may be concerned, but that they are expressions of causes that are much more widely operative, social causes which have invaded and changed the social conditions under which the people live, and evidently changed those conditions disadvantageously so as to make possible the outcrop of these diseases. The investigators of industrial conditions should realize this factor in the situation as exemplified by the presence of this class of diseases.

My plea, then, is for the recognition of what I have termed "social diseases," for a realization that the problem of the various industries, as that problem deals with the question of the health of the workers, is a broader problem than the problem of ordinary physical disease. It is a problem which touches the whole question of society, and which presents for consideration the neuroses and the psychoneuroses as indications of diseases which is not individual,

but social. Here we have in this class of diseases a point of attack upon abnormal social conditions, and, by their study, some kind of idea may be had as to the best means of approaching the faulty social conditions of which they are the expression, and which may be incident to the industrial conditions under consideration.

In this group of fatigue reactions we have illustrations of a mechanism for dealing with a severe biological maladaptation by developing first: a *psychological defence reaction* which hides from the sufferer the real cause of the trouble, so often removable, and drives them on to further efforts along the line of necessity, and second: a very decided *tendency to express the psychological difficulty in terms of bodily illness* which is the characteristic of the hysterical reaction and is known as the *mechanism of conversion.* This is the mechanism so often in evidence to help the individual to refrain from doing something they do not wish to do. Headaches and fatigue are widely used for this purpose. The fatigue of the idle classes is really lack of interest, ennui, tedium vitæ in persons who have nothing in their lives that compel them, who are not going anywhere in particular with their living. Such symptoms disappear as if by magic as soon as a call comes to do something the individual wishes to do.

DIVORCE

As soon as we touch upon the sex relations we instantly find ourselves in a haze of emotion which

makes it almost humanly impossible to discern clear outlines. Marriage is man's effort to solve the sexual question, and in the solution has come to embody his highest aspiration, his most earnest efforts toward better things. Its history has been one long course of trial and error filled with the tragedies which blinding emotions have brought about. Now that monogamous marriage has come to be felt as a final stage in the large evolutional series of efforts the question of whether it shall be permanent or not has arisen, and if it may be dissolved then the question is, upon what grounds?

The controversy which has been waged about the divorce question has been a bitter one. I shall only point to one or two elements in it which show the lack of ability to grasp the psychological factors.

Progress takes place only by the expenditure of tremendous amounts of energy for every step gained and the old forms tend to be retained indefinitely even when the new customs make their meaning no longer evident. Words and customs signify this on all sides. We use the word palladium to mean a safeguard for something precious because the statue of Pallas was supposed to safeguard the city of Troy; we throw rice (seed) after a married couple supposedly for luck but with the deeper meaning to insure their fruitfulness; we light bonfires on all great occasions oblivious that we are employing an ancient symbol of purification, etc., etc. So in marriage there still remain elements in the ceremonial which hark back to the old practice of wife-capture, and mar-

riage is still a means for legally subordinating the woman, in some instances to the level of a chattel. Like all customs it tends to stay in the region of the familiar, it is smitten with the plague of apathy. It will take a long time to develop the possibilities of a monogamous marriage to the point where the roadway lies plainly before him who enters upon it with the end and object at all clearly sketched against the horizon. It will take endless striving and a learning over and over again that love must be carefully and constantly tended and nourished by unremitting giving and only so can grow to a ripened maturity. George Middleton is worth quoting in what he says of marriage in the Introduction of "The Road Together."

"The spiritual level which any marriage achieves depends largely upon the quality of those who make it. Whatever its social import, of which few are deliberately conscious, it is essentially an affair of individuals. As they are and as they react to each other, so will the marriage be. Since it is only in marriage that society offers free and complete expression between them, it is there that the individual man and woman are most tested, most realized, and most offended.

"If one considers the strangeness of sex—with its vagrancy and variation—and the tremulous psychic inheritances which uncontrollably veer our acts and emotions, one can only have deep charity when marriage ends in disillusion, and infinite wonder when it reaches rich fulfilment. Yet marriage endures

somehow between these two extremes. Its bonds are obvious when based upon religious conviction, the responsibilities of children, the fear of admitting failure, and the pressure of convention."

To discuss the whole question of divorce would be too ambitious an undertaking for the limits imposed by this book. I can only revert to the general principle that the organization of society is becoming ever more complex, is developing in every direction, and correspondingly each of its component institutions must respond to the larger movement. A consideration of marriage solely from the point of view of a contract and the right to dissolve it only upon such grounds as are now included in the statutes (adultery, impotency, cruel and inhuman treatment, habitual drunkenness) can no longer be considered sufficient for the needs of present day society. Adultery, inhuman treatment, habitual drunkenness may have been a sufficient catalogue of causes for divorce once when marriage was still in the making and had incorporated only the simplest and most concrete ideals, but to continue to hold them over against the possibilities for human development and usefulness today is, to put it mildly, to write down the law again as hopelessly in the rear of and as impeding progress much more than a safe conservatism warrants.

The more thoughtful have, for a long time, felt that the whole matter of marriage, as legally dealt with, needed remodeling along the lines of present day possibilities of development. Marriage has been felt

to have stuck too long to old forms and to be sorely in need of a new legal and social setting. The tendency seems to be to separate out from the problem the two elements, the individual and the social, and to consider that the sexual relation per se is in essence individual, that is, that the State has no interest in it and that the State becomes interested in the sexual relation only upon the advent of the child. Along with and as implied in this way of considering the marriage relation there is a growing tendency to favour divorce by mutual consent. This attitude, far from being a recent one, was first voiced by Milton. For Milton [1] marriage was a private matter and the causes for divorce "indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, arising from a cause in nature unchangeable, hindering and ever likely to hinder, the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace," and he protests against "authorizing a judicial court to toss about and divulge the unaccountable and secret reason of disaffection between man and wife." Milton fully realized the strength of the argument that divorce by mutual consent would lead to license and stated plainly that in his belief it was the absence of reasonable liberty which led to license and so arraigned himself with many today who see in the rigid and unyielding marriage laws, which do not permit the remedying of a mistake, one of the roots which supports prostitution and allied phenomena. Havelock Ellis cites the deadly

[1] Cited by H. Ellis: "Studies in the Psychology of Sex," Vol. VI, "Sex in Relation to Society." F. A. Davis Co., Philadelphia, 1910.

parallel of logic when he suggests that inasmuch as it takes the consent of both parties to enter the marriage relation it should take the consent of both parties to continue it, and Ellen Key reminds us that broken engagements were at one time considered to be as humiliating as divorce is now.

As regards the welfare of the child it would seem that a house which is no longer a home in the true sense is not a fitting place in which to rear a child and that there does not seem to be any good reason why adequate provision may not be made, and better provision for that, for the care of the child without keeping the parents forcibly together. To insist that the parents make reasonable and proper provision for the care of the child is a proper function of the State through its judicial authority.

The feeling thus seems to be growing that the whole marriage situation needs recasting and that divorce should represent in its greater freedom a larger personal liberty, a liberty, not that makes for license, but a liberty that is as great as is consistent with the largest opportunity for personal expression and so will tend to rob license of its excuse.

It should never be lost sight of that in all intimate human relations, particularly that of marriage, a great deal of the incapacity to adjust, and so a great deal of the unhappiness, results from defects in the individual of a neurotic nature and that the proper way of dealing with such maladaptations is by modern methods of therapeutics (psychoanalysis) addressed to the individual. A very large number of

unhappy marriages are dependent upon such conditions. Divorce under such circumstances, while it might relieve, would not touch the basis of the difficulty nor prevent its recurrence at the next favourable opportunity. It would be a make-shift, not the real solution.

THE WOMAN MOVEMENT

The distorting mechanisms are here quite the same as those that prevent clear vision in the matter of divorce, because we are dealing again with a problem which is eminently a sexual one, and the slogan "woman's place is in the home" serves equally as a distorting rationalization to deflect attention from the real issues and put a premium on leaving things as they are—the dry rot that calls itself conservatism. So good a rationalization is it in fact that it serves yet to delude many intelligent and fair minded people. In these latter it probably expresses a satisfaction with present conditions for which they are glad to get such a respectable expression.

The woman movement should be looked upon primarily as a movement to gain for woman a larger world in which to find expression. She has developed, long since, beyond the possibilities which present to the average housewife and her unemployed energies seek new fields to exploit. Modern progress has not only placed education within the reach of woman but it has taken over a vast quantity of her activities so that she no longer has the making of clothes, the weaving of cloth and like things to do.

The organized productivity of the factory and the department store not only do all of this work for her, but do it vastly better than she could do it and, considering its quality, cheaper. In this and many other ways woman has had her work taken away from her and so it has become increasingly necessary that she should find outlets for these unused energies. Her cry for the vote is merely the erection of a standard under which to marshal her forces. It is not the vote primarily that she wants, it is an adequate outlet for her energies in satisfying self-expression and the "vote" is only the symbol for this great need, far greater than the symbol, at its surface value indicates.

In the woman movement woman is at last finding herself. Released from the drudgery of the housewife by the genius of modern business enterprise her energies are made available for better and higher things. To attempt to prevent her from realizing herself and to succeed would be a tragedy. Her success means the raising of the whole love story to a higher plane, the removing of it forever from the barter of the marriage mart, and because woman is independent a demand for something more than board and lodging. When man has to meet woman as an economic equal then marriage will in truth be free and the natural instincts, which are always seeking for expression at ever higher levels, can be trusted to make for an improved eugenic mating. In fact the woman movement is a distinct, and to my mind, the most important because most hopeful, step

in the direction of an improved race through better mating. The great bitterness, the long duration, and the severity of the conflict necessary to secure for woman that recognition by society which will give her her rightful opportunities for self-realization only indicate the distorting power of instinct which always makes the road of upward progress so hard.

FREE SPEECH

Not long ago there was a prosecution in one of our States for blasphemy. The prosecution was had under a statute which had been enacted in the middle of the seventeenth century and had presumably been a dead letter for a long time until revived upon this particular occasion. The interesting thing about it was that practically all of the social conditions which were in existence at the time the statute was enacted, and in particular the state of affairs at which the statute was aimed, had ceased to exist. Nevertheless the statute was taken at its face value and the defendant was convicted. The words of the statute which were used in the seventeenth century were given the meanings which they had acquired in the meantime so blind is the law to the spirit of change which animates all things. The outward form of the symbol had remained the same through the years but that was all, its inner meanings had become radically different.[2]

The tremendous effort which the law makes to

[2] See my discussion of the value of the symbol as a carrier of energy in "Mechanisms of Character Formation."

catch this wonderful, moving thing we call life in a formula, to fix it in a series of words past any possibility of misunderstanding or change is at times almost pathetic. An effort like the following shows most painfully how elaborately the law can fail and unfortunately tends to make law itself almost ridiculous. Coupled with a growing tendency to evade in every possible way the real issues and lay weight upon the unimportant, unessential, technical details it has brought the law into much disrepute, so that it may have to be corrected by very radical means. The law has always been dangerously wedded to the past; it must learn to look ahead as well as behind. The example in point is taken from the New York State Criminal Code and runs as follows:

"§ 1141, Obscene prints and articles.

"1. A person who sells, lends, gives away or shows, or offers to sell, lend, give away, or show, or has in his possession with intent to sell, lend or give away, or to show, or advertises in any manner, or who otherwise offers for loan, gift, sale or distribution, any obscene, lewd, lascivious, filthy, indecent or disgusting book, magazine, pamphlet, newspaper, story paper, writing paper, picture, drawing, photograph, figure or image, or any written or printed matter of an indecent character; or any article or instrument of indecent or immoral use, or purporting to be for indecent or immoral use or purpose, or who designs, copies, draws, photographs, prints, utters, publishes, or in any manner manufactures, or prepares any such book, picture, drawing, magazine,

pamphlet, newspaper, story paper, writing paper, figure, image, matter, article or thing or who writes, prints, publishes, or utters, or causes to be written, printed, published, or uttered any advertisement or notice of any kind, giving information, directly or indirectly, stating, or purporting so to do, where, how, of whom, or by what means any, or what purports to be any, obscene, lewd, lascivious, filthy, disgusting or indecent book, picture, writing, paper, figure, image, matter, article or thing, named in this section can be purchased, obtained or had or who has in his possession, any slot machine or other mechanical contrivance with moving pictures of nude or partly denuded female figures which pictures are lewd, obscene, indecent or immoral, or other lewd, obscene, indecent or immoral drawing, image, article or object, or who shows, advertises or exhibits the same, or causes the same to be shown, advertised, or exhibited, or who buys, owns or holds any such machine with the intent to show, advertise or in any manner exhibit the same; or who,

"2. Prints, utters, publishes, sells, lends, gives away or shows, or has in his possession with intent to sell, lend, give away or show, or otherwise offers for sale, loan, gift or distribution, any book, pamphlet, magazine, newspaper or other printed paper devoted to the publication, and principally made up of criminal news, police reports, or accounts of criminal deeds, or pictures, or stories of deeds of bloodshed, lust or crime; or who,

"3. In any manner, hires, employs, uses or per-

mits any minor or child to do or assist in doing any act or thing mentioned in this section, or any of them,

"Is guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction, shall be sentenced to not less than ten days nor more than one year imprisonment or be fined not less than fifty dollars nor more than one thousand dollars or both fine and imprisonment for each offence."

The reiteration of the prohibition belongs to that psychological phenomenon of infantile type which seeks to bring things to pass by repeated emphatic affirmation; if one only thinks hard enough it really must be so. It is a common way of deluding oneself. Disagreeable things are refused belief until they force themselves upon attention and then often it is too late to apply a remedy. In the matter of the law it is the same sort of error as was pointed out in the legal definition of crime (Chap. V).

Of course it will always be necessary to attempt a formulation of results legal as well as scientific, only it should always be remembered that no formulation can be perfect and that as time passes its imperfections become greater. Then such a stupid result as occurred in the trial for blasphemy, mentioned at the beginning of this section, could not occur.

There has always been controversy whether speech should be free or under certain restrictions. The trouble is that restrictions often proceed from ulterior (unconscious) motives, and freedom is often used for ulterior (unconscious) ends. Without attempting to solve this question, as I have not at-

tempted to solve others, I hold merely to what I believe the important principle of recognizing their mechanisms. If these were recognized and the ulterior motives could be made visible, because their language was known, the disguise would no longer be useful and much of the material which makes for the differences of opinion would naturally fall away.

ILLEGITIMACY

The fearful price which society has always made the illegitimate child pay for what was no fault of his has always struck the thoughtful and kindly as one of the most crying injustices, yet it has not been corrected but continues in its errant path with the pertinacity and unintelligence of instinct.

This manifestation of an instinctive tendency will be recognized as an example of antipathic feeling exhibited by the herd. Just as the herd in miniature, as the jury, projects its hate upon the criminal because of his antisocial conduct, so has the herd projected its hate upon the concrete, personal embodiment of the evidence of an antisocial act.

Illegitimacy is contrary to the interests of the herd and therefore must be punished, atoned for. This necessity for punishment and atonement is the primary necessity, and so far as its expression is concerned and the relief which follows such expression it might be said to be incidental as to the particular person who had to suffer. The natural sufferer is the child because he more completely embodies the undesirable feature against which society is ar-

raigned. Sex relations which have not been legitimized spring at once into their real antisocial significance upon the appearance of the illegitimate child.

It of course strikes one as unreasonable and unjust that the child should be made to suffer. But such is the course of events. Expiation has to find its outlet. The custom has been recorded of hanging the thief first and investigating afterward, such is the necessity for expiatory forms of expression. It is only in a later developmental stage when it becomes possible to wait and adjust the hanging to the actual thief. Such waiting implies the possibility of repression because if the thief cannot be found then the feeling will find no outlet and so can only be expected at a relatively late stage in social development. It will require a little further development, for which I think we are about ready, to legitimize by statute the illegitimate child and thus give him an equal chance before the law to make good in the game of life. To argue that this would tend to further illicit relations I think can only be a rationalization for a continuation in the present state of affairs. The instinct which prompts such relations is surely not intended to further such results.

To argue as some people do that every suggested change in the established order of things, particularly if it has to do with sexual matters and aims at a greater freedom of personal expression is going at once to plunge society in an orgie of sexual promis-

cuity is to have very little faith in human nature and less realization of the nature of the struggles which are taking place in men's bosoms and which only come to outward expression in such suggestions. Milton's belief, already referred to, that it is too rigid restrictions which lead to license I believe shows a deeper insight into human nature. Man is always striving for better and higher adjustments. In so doing he is but the medium through which the great creative energy of the universe is manifesting itself. The disturbances which mark his course are but the outward evidences of such strivings. A broader appreciation of the mechanisms by which man projects his instinctive shortcomings upon others would relieve the illegitimate child of a legal disability for no fault of his.

SOCIAL HYGIENE

The social hygiene movement has arisen in an effort to control the exercise of the sex instinct and help force it into socially useful ways of expression. It has met with the tremendous opposition which all efforts must which try to bring into the field of clear conscious awareness our instinctive tendencies, and it has succeeded in so far as it has succeeded in doing so. The process of development is a process in the human animal of socializing instincts and the social hygiene movement has helped to get people to recognize their sexual instinct consciously, for it is only when we can deal consciously with our instincts that

we can bring them under the control of intelligence and direct their use. Otherwise, instead of running our instincts our instincts run us.

The effort made in this movement to turn the sexual instinct into channels of greater usefulness is made ostensibly to prevent venereal disease and the thousand and one ills that are traceable to this source. It brings to view, in spite of all sorts of attempts to escape seeing, the unlovely picture of the havoc wrought by the misdirected sex instinct. In this way it co-operates with nature, for nature, by exacting the penalty of venereal disease, is constantly tending to cut off the operation of the sex instinct at these lower levels of manifestation (prostitution) and so save its energies for better uses which shall be truly creative, race preservative. Venereal disease tends to do this, not only because it causes suffering but because it exercises a true selective activity eliminating by death a great many (syphilis of the central nervous system) and in countless numbers cutting off the germ plasm by sterilizing inflammations (inflammatory occlusion of the Fallopian tubes). The far reaching and radical results of venereal infection in these regards have not been at all adequately studied.

Of course the way of nature in this as in other matters (tuberculosis) is tremendously wasteful and much good material is destroyed in reaching the bad. It is only the general result that is to be commended. It remains to be seen whether man, by the use of his intelligence, can do better.

DANGEROUS OCCUPATIONS

The efforts which are being made these days to protect the working man from injury are addressed, not solely to the individual welfare of the worker, but have become social movements because it is equally of importance to the herd to preserve its members from injuries and keep them at a maximum level of efficiency. The degree of efficiency, the degree of happiness, and the degree of social usefulness of an individual are all aspects of the same thing, namely, the individual-society relation; they therefore cannot properly be considered apart. It is for such reasons that their consideration properly comes within the domain of mental hygiene. This will be at once evident if what I said about physical disability as one of the causes of dependency (Chap. VII) is recalled. A full, a happy, and a useful life are all different ways of saying the same thing. To save a person from injury is to help to keep him happy, to keep him happy is to keep him efficient, to keep him happy and efficient is to keep him useful. Safety first devices, industrial insurance, workmen's compensation acts, factory sanitation, legislation regarding dangerous trades, etc., etc., are all in their widest sense problems in mental hygiene. They may of course involve many ancillary considerations, but in the large they deal with the individual-society relationship, which relationship is the field in which the psyche functions, in fact which *is* the psyche.

Not only has hygiene been stressed in this work of studying the dangerous occupations but the attack has come to be made directly from the mental aspect of the problem although, as is so often the case, it would appear otherwise. For example, it is generally concluded that efficiency is at its lowest ebb after a holiday and also after lunch if some alcohol has been taken with the meal. These are the times, too, when in factories accidents are most apt to occur. While this and similar problems have been attacked under the designation of problems in efficiency they are easily seen to be primarily psychological problems. Many aspects of this larger problem have received attention of course varying in each particular case, such as the prohibition of alcohol not only during working hours but altogether, the relation of Sunday and holidays to efficiency, the value and best use of rest periods during the working day, provision of amusements, erection of dwellings and renting at a reasonable price, establishment of co-operative stores, self-government among employés, profit sharing plans, schemes for rivalry between groups of workingmen, etc.

All these various movements are indications of a growing socialism in the best sense. The man who employs large numbers of people and profits by their labours and is permitted to do so by the herd by the granting of a franchise, the issuance of articles of incorporation or in other ways directly or indirectly, thereby assumes an obligation towards the herd and that particular group of its individuals who become

his employés. That responsibility means that, being in the position of power, he shall be looked to to take care of the health, mental and physical, of his employés, to interest himself in their welfare and in every way do those things which not only may make them better employés but better citizens. The herd demands of the factory that it serve as a social centre, as a centre of social usefulness in return for the privileges granted by society.

VOCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

In connection with the question of dangerous trades and similar questions has arisen the department of vocational psychology. In its general reaches it attempts to fit the man and the job by a study of the man and a mapping of his qualifications, and so learning his capacities. Its cruder applications are, for example, the determination of the capacity of the individual as to the rapidity with which he can make certain movements required by certain machinery and then either turning down the particular applicant for work on a certain machine, or else slowing down the machine and so making the man and the machine intermember. In this way are many accidents avoided which depended upon a machine working at a speed to which the worker could not adjust.

From this sort of work this branch of psychology has branched out in an effort to determine more subtle issues, to fit men to complex situations. In this way have developed such problems as the psy-

chology of advertising and such efforts as the effort to work out the desirable traits which a salesman should have. Of course each occupation, each business has its particular problems and therefore its particular ways in which psychology can be applied. At present this is a new and largely fallow field of endeavour.

Not only is vocational psychology of value in fitting the man and the job but it also has a function, which is one of its possibilities for future development, of determining the capacity of the individual. We have means now of telling something of a man's muscular strength and by study under increasing demands something of his ability to withstand fatigue. We can even tell something of the muscular capacity of the heart and the probabilities of its standing up under stress. In other words we have developed the ability to measure the capacity of some organs but not of the mind. To be sure we can say in cases of marked defect that a given boy will never be able to do more than run errands or answer the door bell or such similar occupations, but to tell whether a given person has mental qualities which would enable him to succeed in a given trade or profession is a question for the future of vocational psychology. It is, however, an important direction for development.

FADS

There are, from time to time, outcrops of peculiar fashions in art, literature, music, or society is seized

in the grip of some new cure-all (Christian Science, vegetarianism), or some humanitarian or philanthropic endeavour (prevention of cruelty to animals, anti-noise crusades), or some new spurt of social reform causes unwonted activity in suppressing vice or saloons. Such activities which rise, have a short but often phenomenal career, and then fade away never to be heard of again, or else spasmodically recur from time to time, or continue to absorb the attention of a larger or smaller social group, are innumerable.

All of these activities must of course be understood as serving as avenues of expression for those who are engaged in them and to have come into existence because they more or less adequately answer that need and continue to exist as long as they fulfil it. They are all trials by the few to make a universal appeal and they live and prosper and die just in proportion to the extent and depth of that appeal. A work of art, like some of the strange creations of recent years, which no one can understand or interpret and which is merely a sort of picture puzzle to all who look at it, can only mean that as an expression it is exquisitely individual and therefore strikes no chord in its appeal to others. Such works create a furore for a time because they stir the interests of those who are looking for a new sensation.

I have given in the preceding pages enough illustrations of the place that mental life plays in our civilization. We find it in all sorts of problems even when, from the surface, it might well not have been

suspected. It must not be lost sight of that all phenomena which have to do with the conduct, the behaviour of the individual as a whole are psychological so that, from this point of view, we can understand the wide prevalence of the mental in the various social problems that look at first sight to be merely problems of sanitation, fatigue, hygiene, police regulation or what not.

Somehow, some way the tendency of all life is upward, forward on the path of development, evolution. It is only by bearing in mind that there is such a forward urge which has of necessity to encounter and overcome obstacles that we can understand the psychological conflict. The mental phenomena as we see them are the results, at the psychological level of reaction, of the conflict between this forward urge and the backward staying tendency. The fads and fancies of men are feelers which he tentatively thrusts forward into the world to find out if he can safely go in that direction. Or, more aptly, like the psuedopodia of an amoeba which is gradually extended to be quickly withdrawn if it meets an unfavourable reception or into which, on the contrary, if the conditions are found to be favourable, the whole animal translates itself.

The meaning of these and other phenomena can only be understood by medicine when its strict individualism is laid aside and it is realized that there is a social as well as a tissue pathology. As physicians come more and more to take up these larger issues, as the physician comes to represent the inter-

ests of the herd as well as the interests of his individual patient, we can speak of the *socialization of medicine.*

WEALTH

Money is the energy symbol of modern society which stands for human effort. Work is represented in money and then money, because it can command, becomes a symbol of power and is accumulated for its own sake because it confers power. It would seem that the best societies are on the point of superseding money as the one and only energy symbol which will be recognized and that there is a growing tendency to look deeper than is sufficient to see the single fact of wealth. As has been implicitly emphasized all through this book, the new value seems to be a social value—*social usefulness* seems to be coming to be a more and more recognized and appreciated value.

Of course the individual and the community stand in reciprocal relations, one to the other, and what affects one affects the other. But their interests often cross so that quite naturally we find that there are times in the history of a people when the claims of first one and then the other is in the ascendant. With us individualism has been dominant for a long period and perhaps such an enormous force as a world war was necessary to make us turn to problems of nation-wide co-operation for the common good. Under these circumstances a redistribution of wealth on a more or less extensive scale is inevitable and much which is held now by right of pri-

vate ownership will find its way to the possession in common of the herd. The distribution of wealth follows the swing of the pendulum between individualism and collectivism. Money, therefore, partakes of the properties of both.

The value of money, therefore, is not intrinsic—that is the delusion of the miser. Its value lies in what one is able to do with it—as an energy symbol it attains its real value when its potential energy is made kinetic. For the individual, therefore, its value is as a means which enables him to express himself, and from the standpoint of the herd it attains value when such forms of expression are chosen as have social usefulness. From this point of view it is easy to see that arbitrary limits cannot be placed upon the amount of money which a given individual needs. Persons of limited capacities need much less than persons of great capacities. The limited individual may not only be well satisfied with very little but he may well be much better off with an income which fits his needs (by this I mean his inner needs—his needs for expression) than one materially in excess of these needs. The person of larger capacities, on the other hand, may well find himself cramped by an income that would literally seem stupendous to those of smaller vision. When such a large calibred man engages in enterprises that employ thousands of men and so becomes, in a way, responsible for a considerable group, he acquires social responsibilities, which if he discharges

well society may some day elect not to penalize him. To tax equally the captain of industry who is of inestimable social worth in thousands of ways and the wealthy defective who idles away his time and dissipates his energies in all sorts of useless and perhaps vicious ways, is manifestly unfair and unwise though just at present there is no sufficiently well worked out basis of valuation to replace income as a practical working measure. Speed the day of its coming!

IDLENESS

One has only to look about to realize the literally enormous amount of idleness and waste of time there is. And of course the worst of it is that idleness is not solely negative in its results. Persons who are persistently idle to outward appearances, are really quite busy acquiring vicious habits of thought and feeling which are destructive in their tendencies.

If one takes a ride of four or five hours on a railroad train he may note that fully nine-tenths of the people are apparently content to let that four or five hours slip by without making the slightest attempt to accomplish anything. Beyond looking over the daily paper they eat, nap, and perhaps spend the rest of the time idly looking out the window or reading a short story or trashy novel. And yet one often hears such persons complain of the tediousness of the journey, and nervous and restless act as if they could hardly wait for its ending even though they

may have little that is more definite or useful at the other end.

Of course some of these people are tired and are taking an opportunity for a well earned rest. Naturally I do not refer to them.

This example of the railroad journey may be taken as an illustration of how many people go through life, interested only in sensational occurrences or such immediate matters as bodily needs, working by the clock and only looking for the time to quit, seeing in all work only drudgery and not opportunity, seeking only idleness, pleasure, freedom from care, sensation.

All this idleness, all this lack of interest in spite of the fact that the tiniest speck of dust contains the mystery of the universe, that any one of the hundreds of buzzing, crawling bugs that one may see on a summer's day will prove on the most casual observation to be bewilderingly beautiful and on more careful study equally wonderful. Every breath of air and every sound asks a thousand questions and every rock can tell a story more fascinating than can be found in any of the popular magazines, while nothing that man can do in the way of creating a sensation equals in power, magnificence and grandeur the thunder storm. What is the matter? One is tempted to blame the educational scheme which sends out into this wonderful world so many who "have eyes to see, and see not" and "have ears to hear, and hear not."

The difficulty, however, is that in order to see and be able to appreciate and have some understanding of all these wonders and beauties that surround us on every hand that it is necessary to do some studying, to read scientific books, go to lectures, in short to work. "Aye, there's the rub," for work is just exactly the thing all these idlers are trying to escape from. Work means expenditure of energy, continuity of effort, contact with reality, overcoming of obstacles, progress. Idleness, on the other hand, gives opportunity for phantasying, for day dreaming and air castle building, in short affords the opportunity for reverting to the childish ways of gaining pleasure and conquering the world which should have been renounced. In this way the bad habit of dreaming through life is started until finally the victims are quite unable to bring themselves to any useful kind of exertion. Unfortunately too there goes along with this tendency the tendency to criticize others (a projected self-criticism), a tendency to see in work an imposition by someone else rather than as a glorious opportunity for self-expression. How many people have wasted fine opportunities and perhaps exceptional endowments in fussing because someone was paid a little more or given a few more privileges than they were when if they had attended to their work they might easily have risen to the top of their profession when every emolument would have been theirs.

What all these people need is the power to love,

using love in the broad sense of unreserved giving, be it to a person, a task, an ideal. Of love Hall[3] writes, "Only when we have found some cause or end that so transcends self that love and loyalty to it would certainly prompt us upon emergency to face the Great Terror in his most hideous form, has the true life of the race begun consciously in us. Only then are we complete men and women. Only then have we attained the true majority of humanity, and are we rightly oriented in a moral universe. Thus alone we can take the first conscious step toward entering the Kingdom. This muse of death is not that of Stoic philosophic resignation to the inevitable, nor is it the blind, instinctive gregarious impulse that might prompt self-sacrifice in a sudden emergency. It is a higher, full-blown consciousness of what life means, of man's place in his world, and his duties to it."

Love in this sense is life and the idleness which spends itself in wishing rather than doing is death.

OLD AGE—DEATH

In the natural course of events old age and death close the story in each individual case. Even this, however, like all other statements, needs qualification. Age, as I have already shown, is a relative term. "Forty is the old age of youth; fifty is the youth of old age."[4] Such a statement as this, how-

[3] Hall, G. Stanley: "Jesus, The Christ, in the Light of Psychology." Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 1917.

[4] Victor Hugo.

ever, only shows one aspect of age other than those which I have already covered. From the psychological aspect it would seem that age may be considered in terms of mental crystallization, of incapacity to further progress along the path of increasingly complex adaptations, of loss of ability to acquire new material, failure of capacity to learn, to take in more experience and assimilate it.

In this slow process of mental crystallization and loss of capacity for acquiring new ideas we see the outward evidences of what is fundamental in getting old. Age, as I have shown, is not a matter of years but a matter of having lived. It comes slowly at first and then with quickened pace as the material of experience accumulates, in short it is a process which is best described as an accumulation of our past.

We live our lives out along certain lines of endeavour which become more and more definite as the years go by, and, correspondingly, as our way of living becomes more definite it becomes more difficult to change it, readjust to new demands because the inertia of an ever increasing past, filled with acquired habits and points of view, makes it more and more impossible.

Along with this settling into fixed grooves, however, comes a consciousness of obstacles overcome on the way [5] and a feeling of security born of the ability acquired through long years of experience. With the decline of the insistent urge of the passions life seems to emerge from a whirlpool of conflicting

[5] Old Age. Emerson.

tendencies into a clear, smooth eddy of calm repose, and with the dulling of the keen zest for life comes a growing kindliness and benevolence. In proportion as a man has lived broadly and deeply unhampered by the infantile neurotic fixations which have interfered with his development along restricted lines, in proportion as he has experienced life to the full in all its varied manifestations, its griefs as well as its joys, in proportion as he has succeeded in fully expressing, so to speak, emptying himself, he will approach the end calmly, the desire to live gradually slipping away until he passes from life with as little consciousness as he was born into it. This is as it should be. The pathology of old age naturally can not be discussed here.

But how does death come about? The monocellular microorganisms are, practically speaking, immortal; death is an attribute that only belongs to more highly organized beings. Death, as a matter of fact, is an acquired character which has been developed in the course of evolution because of its value to the race. But how?

I have spoken of age as an accumulation of past and indicated how this past finally clogs further progress. In some way then the past has to be gotten rid of, "sloughed off" as Hall would say. Not only all that obviously interferes with progress may be traced to an accumulated past but less obvious moral qualities, even sin itself can likewise be so considered. All so-called "wrong" conduct can be shown to belong to types which at one time in the

cultural history of mankind were considered "right" ways of acting.

Death, therefore, can be seen to be inevitable because the constantly accumulating past clogs the machine more and more until finally life itself becomes impossible. But if that were all death would have no meaning. To serve its purpose to the race it must be necessary that in dying man should be able to rise, Phoenix like, from his ashes and reborn, take up again the life of the race.

This is precisely what happens. The germ plasm has all the properties of perennial youth of the monocellular organism. It is the soma which responds to the complex environment by an ever increasing specialization of its several parts until, like the balance of power in Europe, things can go no further. It is then that the soma dies but the germ plasm, protected from the very first from the necessity of specialization, lives on and carries forward the life of the race.

Life and death, therefore, can be seen to be but reciprocal aspects of the same process of progressive development. Without one the other could not be and death is as necessary for life as life is for death. If we could view this earth from some far distant point in space as did Queen Mab[6] until it seemed "the smallest light that twinkles in the heavens" then perhaps the horror of this great world war would sink into its proper perspective and we would see that this great struggle was born of

[6] Shelley.

the dire necessity of destroying the baleful influence of an accumulated past which blocked effectually further progress and then we would understand that after all perhaps it was all for the best and the world would emerge with a new impetus to growth for: "One generation passeth away and another generation cometh; but the earth abideth forever. The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to his place where he arose. The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about unto the north; it whirleth about continually, and the wind returneth again according to his circuits. All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full; unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again." [7]

[7] Ecclesiastes i, 4, 5, 6, 7.

CHAPTER IX

THE NEUROSES—PSYCHOANALYSIS

We now come to the consideration of a host of, relatively speaking, minor maladjustments. The large groups already considered are definitely recognized by the herd because they involve conduct disorders which are more or less directly and more or less seriously antisocial. The neuroses, on the other hand, usually exist without attracting the attention of the herd at all because they either result in lessened activities, or such anomalous forms of conduct as are not seen to have social significance, or, not infrequently, because they exist in persons of considerable efficiency and often of great social value.

The neuroses comprise a large group of disorders, expressed at the psychological level of reaction, which are difficult if not impossible to define but which consist of a wide variety of depressions, fears, apprehensions, anxieties, time consuming ceremonials, fixed habits, impulsive activities, stereotyped forms of conduct and a thousand and one other manifestations all of which are energy consuming and so involve a lessening in the amount of energy available for useful purposes. They lead to almost unbelievable amounts of suffering not only on the part

of the afflicted person but quite generally of others in his immediate environment and also to a tremendous wastage of energy.

This book is of course not the place for a detailed discussion of the neuroses. The reader must refer to special works for such information.[1] It will be of advantage, however, to briefly outline the individual psychical development and the broad principles of treatment of disorders in this region, not only because this is a work dealing with the principles of mental hygiene, but because in the orderly development of the subject it would appear to belong here.

In the chapters II and III on Underlying Concepts and Mental Mechanisms I developed the psychological approach to the various problems. I subsequently applied these mechanisms in the consideration of the several problems with sufficient thoroughness, I believed to serve in aiding the reader to comprehend them from the point of view from which I presented and discussed them. In dealing with these minor maladjustments, however, it is no longer of much help to rest in such general statements while the neuroses themselves offer admirable material for the illustration of the deeper lying mechanisms [3] some understanding of which is essential in order that a true comprehension of the meaning of mental hygiene may be had.

[1] See especially Jelliffe and White: "Diseases of the Nervous System." Lea & Febiger, Philadelphia, 1917.

[2] For a fuller discussion of these mechanisms the reader is referred to my "Mechanisms of Character Formation."

I have briefly indicated, in the first two chapters, the tremendous heritage from the past that each one of us brings into the world and with which we start the battle of life. This is a heritage of 500,000 years as humans alone, to say nothing of the millions of years back of that during which the simplest monocellular structures were evolving into and through the metazoa to their present-day goal in man. It must be true, therefore, and a little reflection will serve to convince us that it is, that the various individuals of the human species—homo sapiens—are vastly more alike than different, that they have, literally, thousands of points of resemblance to one of difference. It must also be perfectly plain that such points of dissimilarity as exist must have reference, in the main, only to that relatively infinitesimal part of us which belongs to us individually, which is the product of our individual rather than our racial development.

In the discussion of Mental Mechanisms (Chap. III) I have shown how this tremendous past, so far as it concerns the psyche, constitutes the unconscious and how the unconscious is added to in each individual life by the accumulation of all the psychic material which has been lived past and lived through so that as soon as a psychic reaction has served its purpose, it sinks into the region of the unconscious, and as an added bit of acquired efficiency becomes a new resting place for further superstructures.

The psyche, quite like the body, recapitulates the past, both individual and racial, in its development.

If this recapitulation be compared to the stratifications of the earth crust, as does Jelliffe, then it is possible to refer symptoms of maladjustment as they occur at the psychological level—mental disease—to definite strata in the history of the individual. In the same way we can speak of certain types of maladjustment as being characteristic of certain strata of development just as certain fossils are characteristic of certain geological strata. Of course this is all somewhat hypothetical because the psychic development has not been worked out with a degree of thoroughness anything like sufficient to enable us to do this in any detail but the broad general lines have been laid down and so far as they are clear the principle applies.

I shall try, in this Chapter, to supplement what I said of mental mechanisms in Chap. III and to elaborate that discussion sufficiently to make understandable those relatively more superficial, and continuing the geological figure, recent disturbances of adjustment comprised under the classification of the neuroses. In this way I shall have covered the disorders of the mind all the way from the most deep seated of biological types of failure to those defects which depart only in minor degree from the normal. I have pursued what may seem to be the reverse of a logical order but I did so because the wider departures from the normal are more easily appreciated as such while the lesser degrees are more difficult to understand unless approached with the knowledge gained from more serious situations. From

the point of view gained in this chapter it would be well to reconsider the problems discussed in Chapters IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII. This I shall do, briefly, in the next chapter.

CHARACTER ANOMALIES

To illustrate how a child may suffer in the development of its character from a fixation in the family situation, that is, from an inability to give up its childish pleasure in dependence upon the family and go out into the world and establish its independence I will outline a hypothetical case. A boy, for instance, has an illness when very young, which for a time at least incapacitates him and puts him at a disadvantage in his activities as compared with the other boys, so that he is not capable of measuring up in efficiency with them in athletic sports, etc., so that he constantly has to forego certain kinds of pleasure, for example, swimming, running or baseball,—all of these things make him the object of solicitude and tenderness on the part of the parents. This solicitude and this tenderness very easily become things to be desired in themselves, so that the boy becomes perhaps the cry-baby of the family in his efforts at seeking this affection, because oftentimes the parents will give him something that he likes very much because he cannot enter into some particular sport,—give him some candy or some cake or take him to the theatre or do something of that sort to repay him for what he is losing in other directions This relationship to the family, it can be

easily seen, softens the boy, so to speak,—may easily make him altogether too tender to bear the average difficulties of life, so that when he grows up he is quite incapable of adjusting to the rough treatment that reality ordinarily gives us. He may become wholly inefficient, quite incapable of leaving the home and going out into the world at all, and simply remain a child in the household, cared for by the parents, supported, looked after, as he always had been in his infancy, in which case he not infrequently makes spasmodic efforts to break away from the control of the parents, and perhaps, at such times curses them and is abusive and blames them for his invalidism. This is not an uncommon picture. On the other hand, he may go out into the world and be quite efficient but be thin-skinned and very easily hurt at all kinds of critcism, or again, be extremely irritable and impatient in the face of any sort of resistance or difficulty and be so disagreeable that hardly anyone can get along with him. He is accustomed to having had his ways made smooth,—he cannot stand life when it is rough So that all these defects of character are traceable to what has been called a fixation at a certain point in the development of the individual, in this case a fixation in dependence on the family, dependence upon too great an exhibition of tenderness upon the part of the parents, which while it was brought about in this case through the physical illness of the child, it will be understood is the sort of danger to which any child, particularly an only child, may be exposed irrespec-

tive of physical illness. I think all are familiar with instances of this sort. Such a person, when he marries, will be pretty apt to pick out a woman that resembles his infantile image of his mother. He will marry, not as adults should marry, in order to join their lives to a partner with whom they expect to meet the problems of life in a more efficient manner because of mutual understanding and helpfulness, but he will marry a woman in whom he sees again his mother, in order to regain the lost pleasures which he has always missed since he was separated from her, perhaps by her death, and so he carries his weakness along with him into his adult life, and his inefficiency in all sorts of ways can be traced to it.

A quite similar crippling is brought about in a different way. In those cases, in which the mother has been aggrieved, perhaps widowed or deserted, and the boy is the only child. This situation results again in the mother devoting too much tenderness to the child. She is trying to gain that expression through him which she should have gained in other ways. This, too, softens the boy, robs him of his virility.

Let me take another type of inefficiency,—that mediated by the boy's relation to his father:—Suppose the father had been a very overbearing, perhaps a cruel father and husband,—suppose in his domination of the family he had been unreasonable, arbitrary to the last degree, and had perhaps over and over again during the early years of the child's life, beaten him, sometimes for things that he had never

done. If we realize that the father normally represents authority in the family we can easily see how a child will often grow up to hate the father as representing this source of authority, and in later life will continue to hate all sources of authority, not only, perhaps, as represented in the heads of governments and in government itself, but in more subtle ways will show his incapacity for fitting into the established order of things. He will always be the protestor, the rebel, reformer, agitator, advocate of new ideas, etc. As an iconoclast the results may be unfortunate, as one whose respect for authority has been tempered, so that he is not blinded by mere statement but is ever ready to give the new idea a hearing, the quality may be of great value.

These are some of the ways in which people fail to live at their best, because of early fixations, because of defects in the orderly process of development at some point. Let us look at the problem from a little different angle:—

CHARACTER TRAITS

I have been speaking, up to this time, of the individual as a whole, of his relations to his parents, for example. It will be remembered what I said about the will to power, about the desire that the individual has to attain to the maximation of his ego; it is equally true of every portion of the individual that that particular portion desires, to use the psychological term, to attain the fullest expression of its power. Every particular component of the indi-

vidual is striving in this same way so that the finished product, as we know it, is only a bundle of compromises which has been brought about by conflicts between all these various tendencies. Take one of these tendencies, for example, one of these that we may call partial tendencies,—the tendency to domination, which shows itself so frequently in cruelty in the relation between the sexes, and which belongs primarily to the man:—this tendency to dominate within certain limits is a perfectly normal one, but not infrequently, as we know only too well through the annals of crime, it becomes a cruelty tendency, and we have developed individuals in whom the will to power of this particular tendency has overshadowed everything else in their character and they become demons unable to stand any opposition, going about injuring and killing,—they are the wife-beaters and the Jack-the-rippers of the criminal columns of the newspapers. Now what happens to this tendency when it expresses itself in a less violent, in a less pathological form, but still abnormally? We find people who are always saying cutting and mean things about others; we find people who are always playing vicious tricks upon other people that hurt them in one way or another, the same tendency, but not so viciously displayed. The tendency again is seen undoubtedly in the choice of certain professions. Efficiently sublimated, the desire and capacity for domination express themselves in the capacity to command and may be seen at work in captains of industry, military commanders, and in fact wher-

ever power to command is strongly in evidence. Here are a few ramifications of this particular instinct. I want to call attention to one special feature of it, however, which is of very great importance. The difference between this cruelty instinct, as we see it in a Jack-the-ripper, and as we see it in a respectable business man quietly going about his work and being a useful member of society, is that in one case the instinct is socialized, or as the psychoanalysts more frequently say, sublimated, and in the other case it is not. In one case it has been moulded to conform with the social requirements,—in the other case it preserves its original instinctive and infantile characters in opposition to those requirements. Here we have an illustration, a most important one, an illustration of the socialization of instinct, the process by which all development is made possible. This example shows how it is possible for the conflict between the unconscious and the conscious, between the instinctive tendency and the social requirements, to be solved by satisfying both demands. The higher demands of the social requirements are met efficiently, but only because in meeting them the individual derives a certain pleasure in doing so, because he can meet them in a way that satisfies his unconscious instincts, because the pleasure both of the instinct and of the social requirements has the same origin.

This principle, namely, that the conflict can only be resolved when both contending factors are satisfied is of very great importance and has great possibili-

ties of application to practical problems. For example, in the large social problems which are now pressing for solution. Take for instance the problem of labour and capital. There have been many efforts to keep labour satisfied by surrounding the labouring man with all sorts of luxuries, in the way of club houses, gymnasiums, libraries, etc., etc. Whenever these means have taken on a purely paternalistic character and resolved themselves into gifts pure and simple the labouring man has felt that they were merely a bribe for his quiescence and has never had any compunction about throwing them all overboard in contending for a principle. That which is not earned and so deserved has no value. Labour and capital are not concrete entities in opposition to each other but the opposite terms of a relation and no solution of their difficulties will ever be a true solution which does not equally advantage both and in addition raise the whole relationship to a higher plane of efficiency, a higher level of social value.

SOCIALIZATION OF INSTINCTS

It is this socialization of our instincts which is the important factor in our psychological development —the development of what has been aptly termed the herd instinct. Monocellular organisms are to all intents and purposes, all-sufficient unto themselves. They perform all of the functions of nutrition and reproduction without relation to other individuals of their species and they are practically immortal— they die only as a result of accident. At a little

later stage of evolution they form loosely organized communities in which we can already see a beginning differentiation of the component cells into those which perform primarily the function of digestion, those which occupy a position at the surface and have to feel out, so to speak, the environment, and those which are more essentially engaged in reproduction. As the process of evolution produces still more complex animals and plants this specialization of the individual cellular components continues until in the highest organism we find cells which, like the nerve cells of the higher animals, have no power at all to live except as component parts of the whole organism, and no power within themselves of reproduction. A nerve cell once dead is never replaced. With this highly developed individuation has gone along hand in hand a corresponding renunciation of immortality

A quite analogous process is seen in the development of human society. Primitive man is relatively undifferentiated. Each individual is able to perform the functions of any other individual. As society became more complex the state of affairs changed until today we find society composed of a large number of groups each performing highly specialized functions, which, while they permit of the greatest individual development and efficiency, are only made possible because of the relatively subordinate rôle which they play to society as a whole. Abolish the social group, and its component members would at once have to revert to their primitive and

relatively undifferentiated forms of activity. Thus we see in the process of evolution a tendency which makes for the ever greater development of the individual, which development, however, is only made possible by a subordination of individual aims to a larger purpose,—the welfare of the group. This is the process of the socialization of our instincts which are thus seen to be selfish as compared with the wider interests of the group. Mankind is in a state of "auto-captivity" as has been well said. The self-sustaining, self-aggrandizing instincts are opposed to the welfare of the group which demands that man must give of himself, must be creative and every advance towards these higher social aims is accomplished only by overcoming great opposition—resistance—on the part of the individual, who instinctively clings to the situation with which he is familiar.

Now, the point which has been emphasized by psychoanalysis, and which has been the storm centre of the criticism directed against it, is that the motive power which keeps man from socializing his instincts, the basis of his tendency to shirk his social obligations, the premium offered him by psychic inactivity and failure, is sexuality. It is impossible for me, in such a book as this, to substantiate this statement.[3] I can only say that the evidence indicates that sex gratification seems to be the original mould into which, in their ultimate analysis, all other

[3] The reader is referred to the author's "Mechanisms of Character Formation" for a further elaboration of this subject.

forms of gratification fit, it is the final measure of all forms of pleasure whether experienced in concrete sensations or in the highly sublimated forms of expression of the creative imagination. In its last analysis the pleasure component founds in sex. In other words, the pleasure of the pleasure motive for conduct upon being reduced to its ultimate is found to be identical with sex pleasure. Sexuality is the pleasure premium of the pleasure motive.

The significance of this if true is very great and has to do with the whole problem of the socialization of our instincts in a most intimate way. The problem at basis is a problem in energy redistribution. Primitive man, like the child, is much interested in his own body, his own sensations—he is "autoerotic." He wastes enormous amounts of energy in concrete sensuality, energy which brings no benefits to the group. The process of civilization has as one of its objects the deflection of this energy that would otherwise be wasted, from sexuality to activities which are useful to the herd—the socialization of the energy which otherwise would flow into useless forms of instinct gratification. I may say, parenthetically, that in the neuroses, this energy is still bound up to infantile sexual ways of pleasure seeking, that is, ways which in the course of individual development, should have been left behind as having served their purpose by affording steps in the process of attaining adulthood, and the object of psychoanalysis is to free this energy so bound up so that it may be employed to further socially useful ends.

This aspect of the subject of psychoanalysis has been strangely overlooked by the critics.

I can perhaps illustrate this better by the example of the nutritive instinct. In the old days, in the Middle Ages, in early Roman times, and still more prominently among primitive men, the functions of nutrition were carried on only with a relatively great waste of energy. Food was not taken with anything like the present regularity, periods of actual want alternated with periods of gluttonous over-indulgence. The food itself was poorly prepared, the meat often raw or burned, and of course much more frequently than in these days, infected. It thus made much greater demands upon the digestive apparatus than does now our well-prepared, well-cooked and regularly served nourishment. All of these ways of wasting energy in nutrition have been attacked and the process today is much more economical and efficient, so that the energy that used to leak away by these devious paths is now available for something else. Whether some day we shall develop this process to such a high state of efficiency that we shall be able to simply take an occasional tablet and go on with our work I do not know but there are reasons for believing that this will not be so because of the considerable tendency which eating itself has shown to develop and to take on social ends. The well appointed dinner has become a social function of great importance. It serves as the meeting place for persons allied by common interests and also as a medium for enlarging one's social contacts.

The dinner, too, is not infrequently an occasion of great significance not only socially, but in the larger public sense. Affairs of state are not infrequently born on such occasions. Without going further with this illustration, I may add that the waste, conservation, and socialization of sexuality parallels that of the nutritional development and in their failure we recognize the sensualist and the glutton as kin.

The way in which this bound-up energy is freed is by the process known as sublimation. I have already illustrated this. Of course the possible illustrations are almost infinite for they include every activity of man. For example, according to this theory the curiosity which makes a man a scientist—let us say a microscopist—is traceable to that early curiosity in looking—peeping—which had its object in seeing forbidden sexual objects or acts. The immediate sexual element in the curiosity is sublimated into a socially useful purpose to which the original pleasure is still attached and for which it furnishes the drive. We know, too, the "Peeping Toms" who still show this same form of pleasure seeking but have been unable to advance their way of obtaining pleasure to a socially acceptable means.

In this way man retains the pleasure premium which was originally attached to a concretely sexual motive, for application to an end which has value for the herd. In other words, it is only when there is behind a given activity that drive, which alone sexuality can furnish, that accomplishment is assured. We can understand from this illustration what is

meant by the saying that "man sexualizes everything," the truth of which becomes at once evident when we remember the fact of gender as an attribute of all substantives. This becomes still more evident in languages, in which the gender does not always seem to fit accurately, as in the German language, or in instances which do not seem at once to be illustrative of this principle. It will be found that the gender often follows less superficial but still quite obvious resemblances. A few examples only:—Animals which are essentially aggressive are masculine, as the lion—the king of beasts,—while animals which are more passive and graceful are feminine, such as the cat. The ship is generally feminine because of its resemblance to the pregnant woman, bearing the life within; but the ship built for fighting is masculine—a man-of-war. Similarly trees, as bearing fruit, are feminine. Children are neuter because, as yet, their sex has not been expressed. They only acquire sex later in life. A maiden is thus neuter but becomes feminine as a wife. The pupil because of its resemblance and also because it is receptive is feminine, while the ear, because of its receptive function, is also generally used as a feminine symbol, and in French is of the feminine gender. Let me only add in passing a reminder of the Johannine doctrine of the Logos, and of the large literature on the Immaculate Conception and the doctrine that Mary conceived through the ears, a theory that found expression in medieval art, and in the hymns that referred to her as "Thou who

didst conceive through the ears." This concept is, incidentally, much older than Christianity. Of course, these illustrations if followed up would be found to have many exceptions but these again would often be seen to have fairly obvious reasons.

Naturally, if the theory that all pleasure found in sex, is true, we might expect to find illustrations without end in every realm of human endeavour. This might easily be done but it is not my purpose to attempt to prove the theory in this place but simply to state it and give sufficient illustrations so that it may be understood. The pragmatic significance of the theory is that man is constantly sexualizing his environment in order, so to speak, to desexualize himself, to the extent that his energy is bound up in infantile, sexual ways of pleasure seeking, and therefore render available so much the more energy for adult, social ends. This is a problem, as will be seen, in efficiency and economy in which the constant effort is to use that energy which would otherwise be dissipated in relatively useless forms of activity by retaining the pleasure premium and attaching it to higher ends.

A few illustrations in passing to help clear up what may otherwise be, I fear, rather obscure. There are two ways in which inefficiency may try to avoid reality—by living in the future or in the past. The best example of the former tendency is offered by the Middle Ages, a period in which the controlling ideals were religious and the present life upon earth was thought of, not as capable of being

made a valuable thing in itself, but as having its only worth in the extent to which it contributed and prepared for the life to come. Our patients give us all sorts of examples of their attachment to the past. One of my patients during all his early life found it almost impossible to leave his home for as sure as he did he was made ill by the unaccustomed food and had to return. Another could only eat the food he had learned to like as a child. Another engaged passionately in the study of the dead languages and ancient history. Many persons dress or talk or develop the mannerisms of a parent and not infrequently even their illnesses. Those who live in the past, seek to return to their infantile dependence upon their parents and thus seek protection from the burdens imposed by reality. Those who only live in the future may only lay aside the burden because Micawberwise, they are sure that "something will turn up," or like the men of the Middle Ages they project their infantilism into a Paradise where all their wishes come true and where they find again, in the Holy Family, the idealized parents of their childhood. In either case the individual withdraws his energies from the present task and to that extent becomes inefficient in dealing with reality, and if you will assume with me that the attachment to the parents has a sexual basis, as indicated in the term incest complex, you will understand what I mean when I speak of renouncing infantile pleasure motives, infantile ways of pleasure seeking, so that the energy bound up

in such activities may be freed for socially useful forms of conduct.

The story then would read something like this:— At first the child is wholly interested in his own body, is auto-erotic. By an immense number of experiences in coming in contact with reality in the shape of his physical environment he finally succeeds, though not fully, in differentiating himself from the environment, in making the distinction between the "I" and the "not-I." When he has gotten the process well under way he finds himself strongly attached in his love to the members that constitute his immediate family group. This is the period of development made possible by his dependence upon the family. Finally this attachment, too, has to be given up so that he may come to find an object love outside the family and found his own centre of influence and authority with others in like manner dependent upon him. His growth from this point continues in an ever widening circle as he is able to more and more give of his energy to the larger social group and extend further and further his influence in socially useful ways. This constant tendency, from this point of view, seems to result in a constant narrowing of the individual and a corresponding broadening of the group, but this is not so; it furthers itself because the rewards which come to the individual are fully equal to if not much greater than the sacrifices which he makes, so that as a matter of fact, because society gives back to the individual quite as much as he gives it,

the process results in the greatest possible development of both the individual and the group. Man is thus free only when he conforms to law, the greatest freedom being commensurate with the greatest conformity. In all of this, of course, man never quite succeeds. For, paradoxically, to succeed would be to fail. The tendency is continuously to conserve energy, to save the energy wasted and to make it over into socially useful activities. The old, deeply channelled pathway of the concrete sexual must always, however, be left open. The completed love story will always remain as the basic ideal for the relation of the sexes, out of which will grow the highest values both individual and social. So in our neurotics we find that when life presents an insurmountable obstacle and they are driven back from the pathway that leads into reality, they are more easily able to regressively reanimate, in this old pathway of least resistance, infantile ways of pleasure seeking, but at the expense of tying up their energies with auto-erotic, that is, selfish modes of expression. Psychoanalysis tries to free the energy thus bound up with infantile sexuality for socially useful ends.

ANIMISM

I have illustrated how defects in character make-up result from early infantile experiences which fix emotional types of expression of the individual and thus tend to keep him, in this respect, infantile. This will be recognized as a failure to

grow up, or, as expressed in Chapter III, as the instinct for the familiar, or the safety motive for conduct.

In the early part of this chapter I have compared the different periods of psychic development to the geologic strata of the earth's crust. One of the strata which I have already mentioned is the period of animism which is common to the child and to primitive man. It not infrequently outcrops in the adult apart from severe mental crippling and is commonly in evidence in the psychoses. I have given illustrations of this animistic type of reaction in Chap. III.

THE ORGANIC BASIS OF MALADJUSTMENT

I have already said that it is as true of the parts of an individual as it is true of the individual as a whole, that they are each striving after the fullest power, the greatest sum of expression. This statement is equally true of the several organs of the body. From the point of view of the liver the body should be dominated by liver, not central nervous system, and would if the liver could have its way. The orderly growth and development of the individual is conditioned by a balance of power which insures that each part shall develop just to that degree which will best serve the purposes of the whole.

All along the biological pathway progress has only been possible because each unit, besides preserving its own integrity, has been willing, so to speak, to give something to the larger unit of which it formed

a part. Each cell besides preserving its own life must give up part of its activities to help in the activities of the organ of which it is a part, the organ must do likewise with respect to the larger unit, the individual, and the individual must repeat the process as a member of Society—the herd. The liver, for example, besides preserving itself as liver stores up glycogen to be used by the muscles when the individual is in danger, and gives of this store for the larger whole; the man pays his taxes and similarly helps the problems of society of which he is an integral part. It thus comes about that in the process of the successive integrations to progressively larger ends what we call personality, character, issues as an end result but depending upon all these bodily processes which underly it. Therefore, according to Adler, character traits ultimately are reducible to terms of organic structure, and so defects of character depend upon organ inferiority.

If the tendencies of the individual as a whole, that is, all of his energies, be called by a single name we may use the term libido, then, the implication from what has been said thus far is that a given individual may retain evidences of his infancy only in certain zones of his conduct, his gastro-intestinal, mouth, ear, eye, skin, genital. These then would be called partial libido trends, or strivings.

The Adlerian concept would substitute for the Freudian theory of libido fixation as an explanation for a given defect of character the theory of an inferior organ. He believes that an inferior organ

gives a sense of insecurity, inferiority, against which the neurotic tries to protect himself by so ordering his life, so regulating his every act that he may find that security of which the feeling of inferiority has robbed him. This effort to find security is the fictitious goal of the neurotic who fails in attaining the maximation of his ego because his efforts are directed along this false path. He is not free to deal with reality at his best, but must always subordinate the demands of reality to the inner need of satisfying his craving for security. The neurosis or psychosis is therefore a constructive creation, a compromise, a compensation product, which, however, fails because of its false direction. His theory summed up in a few words reads: The neurotic constitution founds in an inferior organ; the inferior organ produces a feeling of inferiority; the feeling of inferiority creates the fictitious goal of the neurotic, whose symptoms result from an effort to mould reality along the false pathway that leads to safety.

Let me give an example of such infantile and asocial ways of using, let us say, the ear libido. The type of person is well known who is always listening to hear scandal of his associates. You know what a despicable type of individual such a person is from the standpoint of the usual social evaluation. He does not listen to hear something good but always to hear something bad, and the worse the better. This is a somewhat less obvious pleasure seeking device than that of the person who is all attention at the

telling of every obscene story, but the principle is the same because it is the obscene that he is really listening for. Such a person is a peddler of gossip, a besmircher of reputations and in all sorts of ways; at the level of ear libido (listening) an asocial, destructive member of the community and incidentally a very unhappy and unfulfilled person himself. As far as his function of hearing is concerned he has not grown up. He is still using his ear to minister to a low level type of curiosity. His ear (sense of hearing) has not been adequately integrated as a part of a socially useful member of society, and therefore is not used to further socially useful, constructive ends. It remains at the instinctive, pleasure seeking level. How much better he could use his proclivity to listen by going to lectures, readings, concerts and thus socializing his trend by using it for bringing him into contact with his fellows at socially useful levels?

From this point of view the organ of hearing is conceived of as inferior (often at least demonstrable) but we would expect our listener to feel a sense of inferiority which would manifest itself in the zone of ear libido. We might expect him to feel frightened, for example, if he was unable to hear what people were saying and consequently to feel that they might have been saying something about him, something not pleasant of course, hatching up a plot to injure him or the like. The picture is familiar enough and at the pathological level gives us

at once the suggestion of the paranoiac with his hallucinations of hearing and his delusions of persecution.

The inferior organ, in this case the organ of hearing, can therefore be seen to be asocial in its tendencies because it hangs on to infantile ways of pleasure-seeking which should be abandoned as the individual grows to adulthood in favour of activities that minister more to the larger good. The individual, after all, can only include what is under central control, the dynamic or metabolic gradient, Child calls it[4] speaking of the physiological individual. A group of cells may establish their own independent gradient and so break off from the main body and set up a government for themselves. This we recognize as one of the determiners of tumour formation. A similar independence at the psychological level makes the individual, in the particular region involved, asocial. Asocial conduct may therefore found in organ inferiority.

PSYCHOANALYSIS

Psychoanalysis had its origin in an effort to help sick individuals. Unlike academic psychology, which for a generation had been dealing with artificial human beings created in the laboratory, and before that with metaphysical problems, psychoanalysis from the first was confronted with the problems growing out of actual human situations taken

[4] Child, C. M.: "The Basis of Physiological Individuality in Organisms," *Science*, April 14, 1916.

from life as real human beings really live it and know it and so was intensely humanistic from the very first.

Psychoanalysis is just what the word signifies,—it is an analysis of the psyche, a pulling apart, a dissection of the human soul for the purpose of finding out of what it is composed. This process of dissection or analysis is the way in which facts have to be wrested from nature, for she does not disclose them easily,—they must literally be torn from her. No matter how beautiful the flower, if we wish to know its structure it must first be torn apart, and that which appealed to us as beauty be destroyed albeit to reach the knowledge of a greater beauty in the wonders so disclosed. To the uninitiated, the dismembered flower is no longer beautiful, but to the botanist who sees the larger truths discovered in its structure, the beauty is only enhanced.

Pulling apart, dissection, analysis, results in ugliness to the untrained eye. To the layman a dissected human body, while it may excite curiosity, or even wonder, can never be beautiful; and so it is with the human soul. To the unprepared a human soul, from which its surface has been removed and which thus discloses its inner structure, is an ugly sight; but as in the example of the botanist, the trained observer can only be thrilled with the wonderful beauty of the marvellous adaptations which are there disclosed to view.

The history of the psychoanalytic movement in the past few years is not unlike the history of the

dissection of the human body. Science has always had to fight its way against prejudice, but in these two directions, the dissection of the body and the dissection of the mind, the prejudice seems to be of similar character. The tremendous opposition that had to be overcome before human dissection was rendered possible seems to me to be in no small part dependent upon the antagonism which man has of having the secrets of his inner self laid bare. The human body was considered to be sacred, to be inviolate, and dissection was a matter of desecration because man felt that the very citadel of his personality was being invaded. It is the same thing with psychoanalysis, only perhaps the invasion is still more undesirable, for it is no longer simply the body that is invaded, but the very innermost of his being, and to cap the climax, psychoanalysis has dared to inquire into that most personal of all elements in our make-up,—sexuality. Naturally we might expect a tremendous opposition to this movement.

We have seen that as man has developed he has had progressively to give up more and more of his primitive, instinctive tendencies as the price for a higher civilization with all of its inestimable benefits. As these instinctive tendencies have been overcome they have been relegated to the unconscious and out of the successes attained in the overcoming have been forged the weapons with which to win a new victory. Simply because these cravings have been overcome and buried in the unconscious does not mean they have ceased to exist nor that they have

ceased to be able to influence the individual. Like long forgotten events that a chance association brings flashing into the memory they may be stirred to activity at any time, or forgotten and apparently non-existent they may nevertheless exercise a continuous but subtle effect upon the conscious activities. The poet Grillparzer ceased to be able to write poetry at twenty-eight following the suicide of his mother. He was in the midst of his composition the "Golden Fleece." He picked up the thread of his lost art again, however, on the occasion of playing Mozart's Symphony in G minor with a mother substitute, a woman who re-awakened his mother associations. This was the last piece he had played four-handed with his mother before her death,[5] and so served to give him access again to those sources of energy which had been cut off.

In the unconscious, then, we find the instinct motive for conduct, which is the motive of the familiar, the usual reaction (habit), the easiest way, in short the pleasure motive. At the level of clear consciousness reason and judgment hold sway; here the motive is the reality motive, a clear-cut, conscious, intelligent relating of the individual to the facts of existence, which involves among other things impressing of instinct in the service of reality and therefore effort, work. Psychoanalysis is essentially a study, by a special technique of the unconscious for the purpose of learning the part the instinctive motives play in the life of the patient. In

[5] Pfister, l. c., page 120.

the words of Freud:[6] "Psychoanalysis originated on a medical basis as a method of treatment for certain nervous maladies which are called functional and in which there is recognized with constantly increasing certainty the result of disturbances of the affectivity. It attains its object of removing the expressions of such disturbances, the symptoms, by presupposing that *these symptoms may not be the only possible and final outcome of certain mental processes,*[7] and with that in view, exposes the history of the development of the symptoms in the memory, reawakens the processes lying underneath these symptoms and affords them a more favourable outlet under the guidance of the physician. . . . For, today, we know that the pathological symptoms are often nothing else than substitute formations for bad, i. e. unsuitable, tendencies, and that the conditions of the symptoms are established in the years of childhood and adolescence—at the same time in which the individual is the object of education—whether the maladies actually appear in youth or only in a later period of life.

"Education and therapy now appear in a reciprocal relation to each other. Education will take care that from certain dispositions and tendencies of the child, nothing harmful to the individual or society shall proceed. Therapy will come into play if these same dispositions have already caused the unwished-for result of a pathological symptom."

[6] Pfister, l. c., p. v.

[7] Italics mine.

Here is the key to the situation. An analysis is for the purpose of reconstructing the psychological history of the patient so far as that history bears upon the formation of the symptoms. As soon as we do this we invariably find that the symptom represents, symbolizes, a form of instinctive activity which belongs to the period of infancy and should have been renounced as the child grew to adulthood but which because of some special emphasis has been retained. To show the immense practical importance of this psychoanalytic point of view I here repeat the list of disorders cited in Chap. II and taken from the recent literature, which were found to be mental in origin although for the most part they were apparently physical disorders. I think it will be admitted that many of most of these ailments would be apt at least to be treated by other than psychological methods. This list includes many forms of asthma, sore throat, difficult nasal breathing, stammering, headache, neurasthenia, backache, tender spine, "weak heart," fainting attacks, exophthalmic goitre, aphonia, spasmodic sneezing, hiccough, rapid respiration, hay fever, gastro-intestinal disturbance (constipation, diarrhoea, indigestion, colitis, gastric ulcer), ptosis of kidney, diabetes, disturbances of urination (polyuria, incontinence, precipitancy), menstrual disorders, auto-intoxication (from long continued digestive disturbances), nutritional disorders of skin, teeth, hair, etc., etc. The list might be indefinitely prolonged. I will briefly add examples of apparently physical disorder

for purposes of illustration, which proved on analysis, however, to be psychological in origin.

Of the vasomotor disorders I cite the case of [8] a fifteen year old girl who during analysis exhibited swollen lips. This had occurred once five years before when a student had tried to kiss her but she had successfully resisted him. A similar attempt had been made before the later recrudescence of the symptoms.

As an example of a skin eruption is the case of a young woman [9] who had areas of erythema on both forearms. These areas did not tan on exposure to the sun as did the rest of the skin. Analysis showed that the erythematous areas were the places which had been grasped by the mother-in-law in a very emotional scene between them. The erythema disappeared following the analysis and the skin in that area then tanned on exposure.

Certain cases show well that disturbances of menstruation, dysmenorrhoea and suppression may be purely psychogenic, due often to a timid, prudish, neurotic mother who scares her daughter over the onset of the new function, or leaves her in ignorance to conjure up her own fears on its appearance. Subsequent local treatments, curettage, ventral suspension, etc., not only may not help but may aggravate the anxiety, make the patient decidedly worse because of course they do not go to the root of the trouble but only deal with results.

[8] Pfister, l. c., p. 32.

[9] Case communicated by Dr. E. J. Kempf.

I have cited these examples for the purpose of showing that psychogenic disorders are by no means confined to such types as the familiar hysterical aphonias and hysterical palsies, with which most physicians are perfectly familiar and which are so easy to recognize. On the contrary they frequently produce disorders much more subtle in their manifestations, and what is more, may involve not only deep seated character defects but metabolic disturbances in which we are not accustomed to look for signs of psychic causation.

Even, however, in instances of such evident hysterical reactions the mere dealing with the symptom and causing it to disappear is a very inadequate treatment, for it does not touch the underlying trouble, it leaves the character defect as it was, only, as a rule, to manufacture new symptoms. For example, to revert to the case of the boy of seventeen who had for some days a strange feeling in his left arm. This feeling was contemporaneous with the desire of his father to take him from his present school and send him to another. The boy does not want to go. Analysis reveals the fact that when as a child he was about to be vaccinated he struggled so violently that he succeeded in avoiding the disagreeable experience. This experience was entirely unknown to the patient until brought out by analysis.[10] The interpretation becomes easy if we will use the formula for such cases. The symptoms mean a wish that things might be

[10] Pfister, l. c., p. 44.

"as they were then" upon that other occasion when they tried to vaccinate him. That is, he wishes that he may succeed, by his obstinacy, in thwarting the desires of his father as he succeeded before. The treatment of such a condition by causing the disagreeable sensation in the arm to disappear by suggestion on the theory that that is the disease can at once be seen to be entirely inadequate to the situation. It leaves untouched the character defect which is to react by obstinacy to disagreeable situations. In this respect the boy is retaining an infantile way of dealing with things he does not like and needs to be helped to grow up, to develop on this side of his character. Unless the treatment is directed to such ends it misses its goal.

The difficulty has been, in the past, that psychology has never employed itself with such questions. Intrenched in its laboratories it has carried on its work far removed from the every-day life of "the man in the street." But now that is exactly what psychoanalysis is demanding of it. Why John Smith does not get along with his wife has always been a matter of absorbing interest to the neighbourhood, but psychology has never dignified such a problem with its attention. We are finally coming to see, however, that it is because we do not get along with our wives, because we are not interested in our work, because we are not appreciated by our chief, or are imposed upon by our associates, because we get too tired, sleep too little, drink too much, because our salary is too small, or

we cannot save, or the other fellow who does not do as good work as we do gets more, or a thousand other reasons, none of which for a moment cause the sufferer to seek the advice of a physician, we are finally coming to see that it is just such things as these that make the difference between a happy life, filled with usefulness, and failure. Of such problems from the point of view of the educator Pfister says:[11] "Of the analytic educational work with pupils, who, without being really ill, still because of inner inhibitions, make themselves and their families unhappy, there is almost no mention anywhere. How the hitherto unobserved impressions of childhood control the whole later development of the normal individual, even to the peculiarity of his style, his choice of a vocation and of a wife, as well as the most insignificant subordinate affairs, finds too little discussion. The enormous loss of love for fellowmen and of power for work which many individuals suffer, mostly without knowing it, as a result of unfavourable educational influences, have not, up to the present time, been given their proper weight in the literature. . . . Countless numbers of persons who bring heart-breaking grief to their parents and other people and cannot help bringing it because they are under neurotic obsessions, can by the aid of analysis be changed into agreeable, useful individuals." Unless psychology is willing to busy itself with such problems it may well be called upon to justify its existence.

[11] Pfister, l. c., p. 14.

Psychoanalysis is essentially an educational procedure. Its object is to clear away the rubbish which is obstructing the pathway of the patient so that he may have a chance to go forward. This is precisely what education tries to do. Most emphatically neither should try to impose ideals upon others but only make the way free to permit the fullest development of the personality.

The psychoanalysts believe there are shorter cuts to the neuroses than by way of heredity. Here are a couple of remarks by parents which recently came to my attention. One mother says that a child has no morals until after nine years of age. Before that they are just little animals and so of course there is nothing to do about it. A fine formula to relieve the parent from all responsibility and sanction a program of do-nothingness. Another parent believes in teaching children absolute obedience, that is, in completely subjecting them to her will irrespective of their natural tendencies. A fine thing for the parent surely, but what of the child! How can one expect a child in either one of these households to develop, how is it going to be possible to get any chance at all, and as a result must it not almost surely happen, that, thwarted in its natural avenues of expression it will seek the by-ways—and that is the stuff out of which the neurosis and future inefficiency and unhappiness is built.

From the cases thus far it will be evident that the theory that accounts for the later neurosis assumes

that the trouble began in the early years of childhood, not as the result of some concrete sexual trauma, as many people still think, but as the natural consequence of a fixation of certain areas of the child's interest, so that in this particular respect he does not grow up. The cause of this fixation, or for our present purposes we may call it detention of the libido or interest on the road of development, is that the child's interest is too strongly attracted because of the undue pleasure premium which this particular area of interest offers. In the case of the asocial ways of using the ear libido already mentioned, for instance, it would probably be found that the child was very early attracted to listening ways of pleasure seeking because of having heard or having been told about forbidden sexual matters that he found absorbingly interesting. Only by finding such things in the history can the later development be understood. That the matter was sexual is only ventured because that is what would be expected from experience. That all pleasure founds in the last analysis in sex pleasure is an hypothesis forced upon the analyst by his daily experience, it is not an arbitrary hypothesis into which he tries to make every fact fit. This hypothesis that all pleasure, in its ultimate analysis, is reducible to that quality of emotion which is associated with the most important act in the life of the individual, from the point of view of the welfare of the race, is not a whit more surprising or more radical than the generalization that all of the

attributes of life are traceable to the single property of protoplasm—irritability. After all it is of less practical importance to answer the question "whence" than to answer the question "whither." It is only a matter of detail how we reply to the query "whence" for in any case we have all travelled the same evolutional pathway. It is, however, of the vastest importance to the individual that he should be able to make the best use of his opportunities, that he should be able to answer the question "whither" in a satisfactory way.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY

In this final summary it will be my object to gather up all the various threads which I have followed in the preceding chapters and attempt to show how they are related in the vast and intricate pattern of human activities. I can not of course hope to do this in any at all adequate way for the beauty and the complexity of the pattern must always far exceed the capacity to describe it. I will nevertheless attempt to present those salient elements in the pattern which are of immediate and prime importance for the problem in hand.

From the material Osborn has given us in his "Men of the Old Stone Age" we may picture primitive man in form, appearance, and intelligence closely resembling present day Simians. A crouching, hall stooped animal of great strength, with receding forehead and ferocious face, with enough intelligence to pick up and use a stone as a weapon or perhaps to rudely form it by chipping it with another, but probably not enough to fashion clothes to protect him from the cold. Such men probably early grouped themselves together in small bands, probably driven to do so to protect themselves the better against the wild, ferocious animals with

which they had to contend, although some social psychologists would hold that it was because they were possessed of a gregarious instinct. We can imagine such a group in one of the caves they frequented, both for safety and for protection from the cold, gathered about the carcass of an animal which they had hunted to the death. In such a group, could we revive it, we would probably observe noisy quarrelling over specially desired parts of the animal, and after their hunger was appeased probably a similar type of behaviour on the part of the males for the possession of the females, in the end dominated by the largest and most powerful, much as we can see the same reactions today in any cage of monkeys. In such a group the primitive instincts hold sway and it is out of such material that a future highly complex society with all its infinitely complex relationships must be developed.

If we will examine this primitive community with a little more care we will see that it owes its existence to factors with which we are perfectly familiar. If, for example, the strongest man were to take all the food the others would starve, and so such conduct, which we recognize as selfish, would tend to the destruction of the herd and therefore of the advantages which such grouping offered. Similarly, if in their quarrels the strong killed the others the same result would tend to issue, namely, the destruction of the herd. From the very first, therefore, it is evident that in order that the social group may continue in existence and function the individual

members must give up something which they might retain, must learn to exercise restraint over their desires, which they might give free rein. At the very moment of its coming into existence then the herd makes certain demands of the individual so that at once the interests of the individual and the herd tend to define themselves as separate issues and to array themselves as opposing forces in the mind of the individual—the conflict (Chap. IV)—out of the clash of which will be forged the enduring structures of civilized society.

Already at this earliest stage in the development of human society man, the animal, has developed to the capacity for reacting at a psychological level (Chap. II), that is, his evolution has proceeded to such a point that psychological reactions are possible. In fact, the psychological reactions which I have described are plainly kin to those which we recognize in our own experience—they are, however, mainly what we would term affective (that is emotional) rather than intellectual; they are expressed in feelings rather than in ideas.

Development from this point on depends upon two fundamental elements; the development of the individual as such and the development of society. To the interplay of these two factors are traceable all the manifold complexities of character and of the herd. A few comments upon the characteristics of these two basal elements is therefore in order.

It has already been indicated that the interests

of the individual and of the herd may be opposed. If, for example, the strongest man in a small group took all the food for himself the others would perish. The emphasis in this illustration, however, needs to be put upon the fact that while he who by his selfishness had thus appropriated all of the means of subsistence might superficially be supposed to have profited by so doing, still any profit which accrued from such conduct could only be temporary. Furthermore, the matter does not stop there. Not only is the profit but temporary but following this temporary period of profit the results are destructive. Not only has the herd been destroyed, not only has the survivor lost all the benefits which association together for a common purpose gave him, but, and here is the matter of prime significance, the survivor has lost that milieu in which, and in which alone, he could develop his own individuality. The whole development of both the individual and of society can thus be traced in the constant clash and interplay of these two elements.

In general it may be said that as both the individual and society develop that they do so only because man has been able more and more to give up the immediate satisfaction of his desires, to put off their fulfilment until a more opportune time. He has been able to sacrifice his immediate wishes and put off their fulfilment into an ever receding future and occupy his energies meantime in something else—sublimation. Taking the example al-

ready used, he comes to appreciate the distinctions of meum and tuum, and instead of taking what he wants from his fellow he respects his ownership and sets about in constructive ways to earn the power to purchase it from him.

In this progress from the simplest group to the more complex with the contemporaneous conflict between the individual interests and the interests of the herd man feels first and acts upon impulse and as a result of emotion long before he learns to think with the use of clear cut ideas and carefully checked up judgments. Feelings are the more homogeneous and crude responses at the psychological level which precede in development those responses to which we give the name intellectual.[1]

The emotional type of response is not only more general and homogeneous, that is, lacking in specificity, but it is characterized by an absence of projection and a relation of the stimulus to the body rather than to an external object, and it is also a whole or nothing type of reaction.[2] It is only slowly, through countless ages of trial and

[1] For certain evidences that this phylogenetic succession is represented in like manner in the structure and the functions of the human brain see the author's "Mechanisms of Character Formation."

[2] By the whole or nothing response is meant that there is an absence of the appreciation of degree. For example, in certain pathological conditions, the application of extremes of heat or cold are intensely disagreeable. The disagreeable feeling, however, does not begin with minor degrees of the stimulus but when it has reached a certain degree of intensity the feeling of disagreeableness in its fullest intensity leaps suddenly into consciousness. Either there is no such feeling or else the feeling is present in full force.

error and by way of the path of tremendous suffering that the originally extensive, affective, relatively undifferentiated whole or nothing type of response related primarily to the body is replaced in part by the relatively intensive, differentiated, projected variety.

If we will bear these characteristics of emotional response in mind in comparing the reactions of primitive man with present day intellectual types of reaction we will get a useful viewpoint on man's behaviour in its genetic setting. For example, we will understand anew the type of reactions described in a previous chapter (Chap. V) in the discussion of the criminal as scapegoat.[3] These reactions are reactions against evil and sin in general by attempting to transfer them to something or somebody and then by destroying that something or somebody getting rid of them. The extremely general type of these reactions is seen in the fact of the choice of scapegoats. Animals or men are not chosen because of any relation which they may bear to the evil it is desired to be rid of but for entirely different reasons—usually because they are captives or condemned criminals. Then again it is seen in the periodical ceremonials for the expulsion of evils which are indulged in whether there is special need for them or not. Later in the development, as I pointed out, there is a tendency to choose as a human scapegoat a condemned criminal. But this is a reaction against human sacrifice and hardly a nearer

[3] See Frazer: "The Scapegoat."

approach between the scapegoat and the producer of the evil. In fact there is evidence that it was once the custom to hang the thief first and investigate afterwards.[4] In other words, the evil had first to be gotten rid of, the crime expiated, then matters of detail might be gone into. The important thing was done first. This, of course, is a typical emotional response in its indefiniteness, its lack of specificity. And too, it lacks characteristically the quality of projection. The whole process goes on in the individual. The feeling of the necessity for an emotional emptying is aroused by a crime; the hanging produces relief from the emotional tension; incidentally some one is hanged; the relation of the one hanged to the crime is a matter to be worked out by the slow painstaking development we call civilization.[5]

The characteristics of emotional response as differentiating it from the intellectual type will bear some further elaboration. We have seen that it is more general—lacking in specificity. This change from the indefinite to the definite of course characterizes all progress. Typhoid fever was first just an evil, then an illness, then a special kind of illness, and finally a specific illness due to the typhoid bacillus.

[4] Grimm, J.: "Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer," cited by Jelliffe, S. E., "Technique of Psychoanalysis," *The Psychoanalytic Review*, April, 1917.

[5] Some idea of the extreme slowness and laboriousness of this development can be had by studying the development of flint tools as told by Osborn in his "Men of the Old Stone Age."

Perhaps the most important characteristic of the emotional response, however, is the lack of projection.[6] We have seen (Chap. III) that from the very first the tendency is for the baby to be self-sufficient, to keep within himself, that reality has to come repeatedly knocking at the door and really to cause pain and suffering before it receives adequate recognition. It is only as a result of such repeated demands that man finally learns to project his interests outside of his own body and to take interest in reality. Even after he does this, however, the projection mechanism is susceptible of serious distortions, which nevertheless serve a purpose in evolution and only become pathological when they retard progress. As we have seen, (Chap. III) when this projected interest meets with an obstacle it is felt as though it came back from the outside world in the form of a destructive influence—hate, if it comes from an individual, quite often some mysterious and maleficent force, if from an inanimate object.

The projection mechanism is the mechanism with which man comes in contact with, feels out, reality. It is also the mechanism through which he comes to the first efforts at repression of his own instinctive tendencies through the development of the antipathic emotions. That is, he projects his own instinctive tendencies upon the persons of others

[6] Projection is here used in the sense of objectivation, which is possibly the better term as projection has a technical significance in psychiatry (see Chap. III.)

and then proceeds to kill or otherwise do away with those others. It is the principle of the scapegoat, but man never suspects that this is the meaning of so many of his hates and antipathies. The member of the tribe who offends a tribal law or custom is forthwith killed and by so doing the tribe is saved from his further disintegrating influence, but in addition, for those who took part in the killing, actually or by lending their sympathy, a similar delinquency is rendered much more impossible, the prohibition is greatly increased—reinforced.

That we are still a long way from having evolved an intellectual type of society I think all will admit. We are still almost entirely controlled by our feelings and such reactions as I have just outlined are largely in evidence in our everyday life. The petty jealousies and antagonisms of any group of people who are closely associated are instances in point. In fact perhaps it is not desirable that we should be entirely controlled by our intelligences, but it certainly is desirable that our feelings should develop beyond the infantile type which makes such reactions possible.

Finally, however, man does come to have some measure of control over his instinctive tendencies as a result of the development of what we call his intelligence. The energy transformations which occur at the level of intelligence are mediated by ideas which act as symbols for energy at this level.[7]

[7] For the symbol as carrier of energy see the author's "Mechanisms of Character Formation."

The idea becomes then a much finer tool than the feeling for cutting into reality and so develops accordingly.[8]

It is perhaps because the idea is a so much more efficient tool than the feeling that it has developed so much more rapidly. We have a rich language of ideas but our capacity to describe our feelings by words is very limited by comparison.

With the material of his instincts, his feelings, his ideas and finally his ideals we see man struggling with the great problem of his nature, the conflict between his self-preservation (nutritional) and his race-preservation (sexual) tendencies projected into the larger issues of individuality versus society. On this great battle field the victory goes in the main to those best fitted to survive. The great general average of results is in the line of progress but in reaching this average much that is worth while must necessarily go down to destruction. All along the line of progress those who wander too far from the path of success fail completely while in between is every degree of failure or of success depending upon the angle from which one chooses to consider it.

It is necessary to view the questions of social inadequacy, as I have called them, from this broader horizon in order to adequately appreciate the mean-

[8] This statement is rather loosely phrased. Instead of an idea being a tool to cut into reality in this sense, that is, that it is made de novo for that purpose, it represents a reaction at the psychological level which is successful in proportion to the success of what went before and out of which the idea was born.

ings of the several problems—individual or group. When we do this we can see that practically all of the varieties of failure, such as I have discussed in the preceding pages, are dependent upon developmental failure. The individual or the group, as the case may be, has not been able to "keep up with the procession."

Next to realizing social inadequacy as a developmental defect is the localization of this defect in the cultural history of both the race and the abbreviation of this historical record as we see it in the development of the individual. For example: nail biting would be recognized as a bad habit brought over from the period of infancy; many fears can be traced to actual experiences in early life; prostitution, on the other hand, would seem to hark back in its origin to an earlier racial promiscuity; while lying and stealing, involving as they do a certain type of defect in what might be called social consciousness, can be appreciated as partaking both of individual and racial qualities. Of course, in the last analysis, probably all defects of any moment derive from both sources.

To express all the symptoms of social-inadequacy in terms which would denote the stage of development reached as indicated in the symptom is not at present possible because the stages of cultural development as represented in racial progress have not yet been translated into psychological terms. Theoretically this should be possible. I have already indicated (Chap. IX) one such stage,

namely, animism. There probably could be outlined a number more. Jelliffe[9] would define one such stage as that in which animals appear in the unconscious symbolisms with great frequency as typified in Ovid's Metamorphoses. Another stage might easily be a sadistic (cruelty) stage as symbolized by the Inquisition. Others could easily be suggested and for each stage, to carry out the geological figure already employed, there would be special variants just as special fossils are found in particular geological strata. This way of looking at the phenomena gives one at once a breadth of horizon and at the same time furnishes a scheme into which can be fitted particular and unusual instances in a helpful way, a way that gives them meanings.

In addition to this way of classifying the material it is necessary also to attempt to evaluate the seriousness of the reaction in a particular instance and note whether it is for the most part dependent upon defects resident within the individual or causes external to him. Both etiologies may produce a condition which outwardly appear the same. In the one case the person reacts with symptoms which show his level of development, in the other case outward circumstances which he cannot adjust to drive him back within himself to the same level. One person may develop a stupor as result of a

[9] Jelliffe, S. E., and Brink, L.: "The Rôle of Animals in the Unconscious, with some remarks on Theriomorphic Symbolism as seen in Ovid," *The Psychoanalytic Review*, July, 1917.

gum boil, another only when faced with the hopelessness of a long term in prison.

Then again as to the seriousness of the reaction. This may be shown by the necessity for escaping from reality. A man who occasionally drinks too much when out with a crowd of men having a good time is not, other things being equal, nearly so seriously involved as one who from time to time buys a supply of whiskey and then goes to his room, pulls all the shades down so as to darken it thoroughly, goes to bed, and, alone, proceeds to drink himself into unconsciousness.

Having outlined the nature of the problem of social-inadequacy in its multitudinous ramifications and reached some understanding of what it means both in the large and in its particular manifestations, there remain a few things that I wish to say about the way these problems should be approached in order to insure the best results.

I have intimated all through the book that if we are to really accomplish lasting results for betterment the approach should be with love, using that word not to mean anything approaching sentimentalism, but in its broader sense as opposed to hate.

As already indicated the mechanism of projection, or perhaps better objectivation, transferring our interests to and seeing them in the outside world, is the mechanism by which we come into contact with reality. Love is the indication of success while hate is the reaction which indicates a cer-

tain measure of failure. Love is positive and goes ahead, hate is occupied with trying to avoid certain obstacles only, by objectifying them and then destroying them. Love is the path of interest which takes us out of ourselves, hate is the path that turns us back within. Love is creative, hate destructive.

We have seen how the constructive attitude as applied to the insane has infinitely ameliorated their condition in recent years and led to studies which are throwing ever more light upon the meanings of so-called insane reactions. We have seen also how the attitude of hate has equally retarded any such similar progress in humanitarian endeavour or scientific enlightenment in the case of the so-called criminal classes. It behooves us, therefore, to take stock of ourselves, to look within and see whether our own attitude does not need orienting towards the problem if we are to get the best results.

If we will do this it will be apparent that our attitude has to be planned on a higher plane of conduct than that I have referred to as typical of the attitude towards the criminal. In other words, nothing will be accomplished so long as the attitude is one of hate, or to use less harsh terms, the products of attempts to rationalize our hate, retribution or punishment. So long as this is our attitude towards any problem nothing can be accomplished because we are not objectifying our best but our worst, we are really only treating ourselves to a certain amount of self-indulgence—small on the average but a veritable orgy when a lynching is the form of

expression. Such a reaction partakes of all of the limiting characteristics of the emotional as against the intellectual which I have already pointed out.

Freed from the limitations and distortions of an emotional attitude the attack on the problem of social inadequacy needs to keep primarily in mind the development of a program which will help to bring about better conditions. Such a program has two elements to consider; the welfare of the individual and the welfare of society. Further it may be accepted that no really constructive program can issue as a result of purely repressive measures.

I have already emphasized the necessity of considering both the individual and society. It is necessary to emphasize here the fact that repression is never a permanent solution. Take for example the criminal classes. Just so long as the criminal classes and the police are arrayed against each other as enemies, and as enemies only; just so long as one is the hunted and the other the hunter, progress is impossible. For every increase in efficiency of the criminal the police will develop a device to circumvent him, and correspondingly every increase in efficiency of the police the criminal will devise some means of "beating." It is like the conflict between the penetrability or armour and the penetrating power of projectiles. Every increase in the effectiveness of one is balanced by a corresponding increase of efficiency in the other. One or the other party to the conflict may temporarily be in the ascendant but in the end the fight is a draw

and can never be decided unless the level of the conflict can be transcended.[10]

In order to transcend the level of the conflict in dealing with the socially inadequate classes the problems must be rescued from the distortions of emotionalism either in the form of hate (moral indignation) or sentimentalism. This can be done by dealing with the whole thing on the level of scientific interest (love) which will be able to see the facts in their real settings and give them their true values. When this is possible all sorts of ways of helping become visible and problems which before seemed insoluble take on new aspects. This is the attitude which is sorely needed with respect to such problems as prostitution and until it can be attained they will wait in vain for anything which promises a solution or if not a solution an improvement over present conditions.

It is to this end that I have used the term social inadequacy in place of such terms as the dependent, defective, and delinquent classes because it does not carry any suspicion of moral delinquency or moral judgment as does, for example, the term delinquent. This is perhaps a small device but an important one for after all "a science is a well made language."

To see man as a social animal and his failures as forms of social inadequacy; to approach these problems free from prejudice and with a full apprecia-

[10] For a discussion of the resolution of the conflict see "Mechanisms of Character Formation."

tion that in each instance the failure has back of it causes adequate to explain it; then to attempt to bring to bear upon the problem those forces which are best calculated to bring about results which are constructively of the highest value to both the individual and society; and then to be able to apply the principles worked out in dealing with individual cases to the larger, more general issues—these are the problems of Mental Hygiene.

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